OCTOBER 12, 1981 $1.50

TIME

Downs and Ups of the Stock Markets

NO FREE LUNCH

The High Cost of Entitlements

0 724404

Virginia Slims remembers when a woman's crowning glory weighed 20 pounds, contained 14 yards of lace, 10 yards of ribbon, 4 yards of velvet, 7 yards of silk, a bunch of fruit, several large plumes and a nest of small birds.

VIRGINIA SLIMS

You've come a long way, baby.

Fashions: Samuel Roberts

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Regular: 8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine—Menthol: 9 mg "tar," 0.7 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar.'81

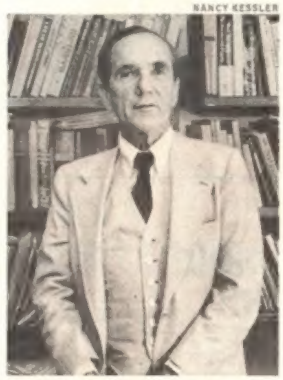
OCTOBER 12, 1981 Vol. 118 No. 15 TIME THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

With this issue, TIME introduces a new section, one that will encompass numerous areas of human activity and focus them in a fresh, invigorating fashion. The title: Design.

"Form follows function" has been the anthem of much 20th century architecture and design, but it will be the function of the Design section to follow form—to trace its myriad varieties and analyze its influence on the way we live, work and play. The section will interpret, in the widest possible sense, the patterns and shapes of our world. Design, noted the celebrated architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, includes everything from teacups to city planning. Accordingly, says Senior Editor William Ewald, who will edit the new section, "Design will deal with, say, the silhouette of a new telephone, with why the Susan B. Anthony dollar was doomed from the start, with eggcups, airports, flowerpots, type faces, shopping centers, shoehorns, bus seats and world's fairs." As long as something has a purposeful design in terms of function, structure or goal, it will fall within the broad province of the section.

The writer of the Design section will be TIME Contributor Wolf Von Eckardt, 63, former architecture and design critic of the Washington *Post*. Ever since fleeing Berlin as a political refugee in 1936, Von Eckardt has been involved with the multifarious aspects of design as a typesetter, graphic designer, critic and author of such books as *A Place to Live: The Crisis of the Cities* (1968) and *Back to the Drawing Board! Planning Livable Cities* (1979). Von Eckardt was a recipient of one of the first Ford Foundation grants for writers in the arts, and is the holder of an American Institute of Architects medal for distinguished criticism of architecture. Two weeks ago he was in the noted "new town" of Tapiola, Finland, to receive the Tapiola medal for promoting the idea of well-designed planned communities.


NANCY KESSLER

Contributor Wolf Von Eckardt

Von Eckardt sees the new section as "taking a practical approach to design, to encourage the kind of design that makes the world more livable." Noting the historical discrepancy between the vagaries of elitist taste and what people really want, Von Eckardt believes that "we have a right to say we like this and we don't like that: we must participate more actively in the design of the world around us. The problems of living are not simply engineering problems. It makes sense to solve them artistically." This week Von Eckardt assesses a novel Dutch idea for redesigning streets. In the process, he raises a vision that will be a touchstone of all the Design sections to come: the harmonious coexistence of man and machine.

John a. Meyer

Index

Cover: Photograph by Roberto Brosan

32
Cover: The unchecked growth of entitlements, such as the federally subsidized school lunch, threatens to swamp the budget with deficits. How to cut back without hurting the needy now challenges the U.S. *See* NATION.

18
Nation: Reagan orders a go-ahead for the B-1, a go-somewhere for the MX. ▸ AWACS in trouble on the Hill. ▸ A cheery President due for difficulty. ▸ Miami copes with Marielitos. ▸ Graft in Oklahoma.

78
Stock Markets: Panic prevailed, but only briefly, on major exchanges as prices plunged. But they recovered smartly, reassuring investors that world economies were not on the brink of collapse. *See* ECONOMY & BUSINESS.

46
World
Europe is haunted by the threat that growing unemployment will cause social and political disruptions. ▸ Walesa is re-elected Solidarity head at a congress that bears on the future of union—and nation. ▸ Soviet youths rock at mini-Woodstock. ▸ Exclusive: a victim tells of torture by Khomeini's regime.

10
American Scene
In Brooklyn, a boy of the streets inhabits a world few whites ever see, a Dickensian hell of drugs, death and hopelessness.

95
Medicine
Pharmacists, long dismissed as mere pill counters, are beginning to advise doctors about drug dosages and side effects.

68
Law
As John Hinckley's trial approaches, the insanity defense draws criticism as a means of telling the mad from the bad.

100
Art
At Paris' Pompidou Center, an overloaded show documents the queen city's slide into artistic debility in 1937-57.

80
Economy & Business
U.S. debt hits $1 trillion. ▸ Investors snap up tax-free All Savers Certificates. ▸ Fighting ships from a fighting company.

117
Sport
Karpov and Korchnoi, bitter foes and temperamental opposites, square off in the World Chess Championship.

88
Design
The *Woonerf*, an innovative Dutch system for slowing auto traffic on residential streets, is gaining in the U.S.

118
Sexes
In a new book, Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*, says a woman's place (and a man's) is in the family.

90
Education
Black colleges are hard pressed by inflation, reduced student aid and wholesale "black flight" to white schools.

5 Letters
75 People
95 Science
96 Music
96 Theater
102 Cinema
109 Books
117 Milestones

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly at the subscription price of $36 per year, by Time Inc., 3435 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010. Principal office: Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020. J. Richard Munro, President; J. Winston Fowlkes, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary. Second class postage paid at Los Angeles, CA, and at additional mailing offices. Vol. 118 No. 15. © 1981 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, Time/Life Building, 541 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, Ill. 60611. □□□□□

FLEXIBLE FINANCING.

Now more than ever, Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans can give you health care coverage the way you want it. And the way you want to pay for it.

There is more than one way to finance your employee health care coverage. And Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans can offer you flexible arrangements to meet most risk management or cash flow objectives you may have.

Our options range from fully insured financing, which many companies continue to prefer, to administrative services contracts. So when you're looking for flexibility in financing your health care coverage, call on us. We can work out the options.

Write for the new booklet, "The Best You Can Do For Your People. And Your Company." Box 8008, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

® Registered Service Marks of the Blue Cross Association
®' Registered Service Marks of the Blue Shield Association

Blue Cross® Blue Shield®

The Best You Can Do For Your People. And Your Company.

Letters

Reaganomics

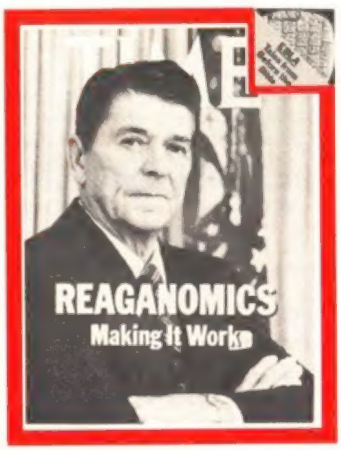
To the Editors:

Here's hoping we will all take the medicine the Administration prescribes and support Paul Volcker and the Federal Reserve Board in their determination to stop inflation [Sept. 21]. There are no free rides for the sin of overspending.

Frank Wall
Redlands, Calif.

Mr. Reagan can cut the budget, he can cut taxes, he can even cut flowers, but if he doesn't cut the interest rate nothing positive is going to happen.

Robert P. Morrison
Tucson



Reduced inflation, reduced interest rates and a balanced budget are fundamental. But how do you attain them? By reducing "entitlement accounts." I receive Social Security, but I believe senior citizens should accept the pain along with the younger generation.

Burton Hughes
Jadwin, Mo.

I am undecided who committed the greater folly, Reagan or me. Reagan, for reducing taxes before balancing the budget, or me, for voting for him.

Gordon S. Alfredson
Meriden, Conn.

Many years ago, when there was no Social Security, welfare, Medicaid or unemployment insurance, the needy would come to my grandmother's door and she would help them out with money. Today Reagan is turning back to that world, except that this time, the needy may take what they need at gunpoint.

Otis Kidwell Burger
Colebrook, Conn.

Faulting Wall Street for the state of the economy is like blaming the thermometer for the weather.

Leon Bromberg, M.D.
Galveston, Texas

Feline Phobia

Your article on books promoting the cult of ailurophobia, the hatred or fear of cats [Sept. 21], reminds me of the Chinese proverb: "He who dislikes the cat was in his former life a rat."

Jane P. Wilkinson
Alexandria, Va.

Don't classify all of us animal lovers with the cat worshipers who apparently have neither a sense of humor nor a sense of proportion. Anybody who can't laugh at the pale black humor of *101 Uses for a Dead Cat* is sick.

Elisabeth Arvin
Alvaton, Ky.

There's a big difference between Polish jokes and cat jokes because for cats, "harmless" ridicule often leads to physical abuse. No cat remains unaffected when it's been set afire, had an eye shot out, or been locked in a closet for three weeks.

Paula Sedor
Public Affairs, Felines Inc.
Evanston, Ill.

Considering that only one out of every eleven cats is lucky enough to have a home and the other ten are homeless creatures with a life expectancy of a year, your statement calling felines "pampered pets" seems inaccurate.

Deb Sitkin, Secretary
C.L.A.W.S.
Ridgefield, Conn.

Cat haters are of four types: the insecure, the egocentric, the stumbler, the peasant. By their manner of recoil shall ye know them.

Jean R. Hoppin
Columbus

Benito Mussolini, Napoleon, Louis XIV and Alexander the Great were all cat haters. Abraham Lincoln, Albert Schweitzer, Victor Hugo and Mark Twain were all cat lovers. I much prefer the company of the latter group.

Nadine S. Colbert
Rockville, Md.

Resisting Rape

Does Frederic Storaska really expect a rapist to allow a woman to run into a building and tell a friend not to wait for her [Sept. 21]? Researchers have concluded that a rapist's motives are to prove dominance over women. Polite and docile treatment of an attacker is playing right into his hands.

Michelle Caprara
Detroit

John Leo states that feminists are "willing to gamble with the safety of the woman in the street" simply because many feminists advocate immediate physical resistance to rape. This is a gross oversimplification of the difficult question of whether one risks death by trying to fight off an attack. Feminists are not gambling with any woman's safety. We are trying to teach women to fight back with their most effective weapons, their strength and their wits.

Alessandra Ross
Paris

I have always understood that a rapist enjoyed a good fight. If he wanted a passive woman, any local singles bar would do. I am in total agreement with Mr. Storaska. The mind and time are much more powerful weapons.

Robin L. Desjarlais
Golden, Colo.

Oriental Diplomacy

Your article "Let a Hundred Flowers Wilt" [Sept. 21] was a welcome report on the terrible conditions of writers and dissidents in Red China. It stands in ironic contrast to the news several weeks ago of Secretary of State Haig's offer to sell U.S. weapons to that country, as well as to ex-President Carter's ingratiating table talk with China's Deputy Party Chairman Deng Xiaoping. Why is it that U.S. leaders are so willing to forgive the crimes of those smooth-talking Chinese Communists while at the same time they are talking tough to the Soviet Union? American naiveté concerning Chinese totalitarianism knows no bounds.

Michael S. Duke
Assistant Professor of Chinese
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wis.

Ma's Temper

Mr. Schickel's review of *Mommie Dearest* [Sept. 21] stands as tragic testimony to one of the most serious obstacles to recognizing the extent of child abuse in our country, namely, that it's really no big deal for parents to haul off at their children now and then.

John E. Imhof
Port Washington, N.Y.

Losing one's temper at times, even unjustly, doesn't make a parent a monster. I'm not necessarily an admirer of Joan Crawford, but my sympathy lies with her for not being able to strike back at her accuser from the grave.

Maria Mertl
Darien, Conn.

Breeding Seals

TIME's story on the endangered condor [Sept. 21] attributed to me the comment that "captive breeding has already saved the elephant seal." Several animals have been saved by captive breeding, but not the elephant seal. In response to TIME's question about the ability of animals to recover from a small population base, I noted the

Letters

history of the northern elephant seal, which has grown from a population of about 20 to one of about 40,000, but not in captivity. Siberian tigers, Mongolian wild horses, Père David's deer and European bison are examples of animals that were originally found in small numbers and are now populous in zoos.

William Conway, General Director
New York Zoological Society
New York City

Dough for Doe

I am discouraged to learn that while we are slashing budgets in the U.S., we are giving Liberia's ruthless Samuel Doe $68.3 million [Sept. 21]. We help pay the country's oil bill, send it rice and build barracks for its army when our men in Germany have to live in quarters built 200 years ago. If we kept our money at home, perhaps then we could balance our budget.

Theodora H. Smith
Philipsburg, Mont.

Rough Love

Sociologists should not be surprised that college lovers frequently knock each other around [Sept. 21]. A generation that feels free to cohabit at first tumescence, must feel equally free to react physically when angered.

Murray Howden
Allentown, Pa.

The most important time for developing gentleness, humanness, love and idealism is during adolescence when one enters into romantic love. This fundamental maturational phase has been cut short by the sexual promiscuity indulged in by millions of still very dependent adolescents.

Stanley B. Stefan
Retired Clinical Psychologist
Monterey, Calif.

Misplaced Praise

Your story on Jailhouse Lawyer Richard Owen [Sept. 21] makes the criminal a hero. We give praise to Mr. Owen for his fine accomplishments, which came about because he shot a policeman who was performing his duty.

Lawrence R. Marino, Detective
Inglewood Police Department
Inglewood, Calif.

Wear and Tear

I disagree with the Essay on burnout [Sept. 21]. It is not narcissism. Burnout is the psychological price one pays for too little self-love, manifested by overextension and the failure to recognize one's needs. Ultimately, it is self-hatred.

Patricia C. Pilette
Framingham, Mass.

Few victims of burnout deal with the possibility that being unqualified for the work involved and the psychic energy needed to hide the fact may be the strongest contributing factors in the development of the syndrome.

Norma Steelbrook-Tentindo
Bridgewater, Mass.

Baby Boom Bust

Having been born in 1947, I am part of America's great postwar baby boom described in "Going After the Mightiest Market" [Sept. 14]. The sad aftermath is that in 30 or 40 years many of these 76 million "baby boomers" will be residents in overcrowded nursing homes. The Social Security fund, to which we have contributed, will be depleted. What now appears as the rosy future for the consumer can change to thorns a few years down the road.

Dorothy Miller
New Washington, Ohio

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

You just ran out of excuses.

We know. Exercising takes too much time. It's hard work and boring. Your back hurts. A health club is expensive, inconvenient and crowded. You don't need **excuses.** You need Total Gym, the compact home gym that makes fitness fun. With Total Gym, you can literally pull yourself into good condition, the way thousands of medical and athletic professionals do.

- **It's easy.** Just sit or lie on the inclined rolling board and glide back and forth.
- **It's fast.** The Basic Fitness program takes only 20 minutes three times weekly. Great, too, for quickly getting into condition for specific sports.
- **It's versatile.** Do over 70 different enjoyable exercises just by changing your position.
- **It's adjustable.** Exercise at your own pace by setting the inclined board to any of 12 different positions.
- **It's safe.** Unlike weight-lifting and push-ups, Total Gym reduces trauma. And that's good news for people worried about lower back problems!

Order Total Gym by phone. Or ask for a free 10-page color brochure. All major credit cards accepted.

totalgym

Total Medical Systems
7161 Engineer Road San Diego, Ca. 92111

In California, call toll-free:
1/800/542-6467

Outside California, call toll free:
1/800/854-1017

If there's one repair job that should be guaranteed, it's your brake job.

At Sears, it is.

Because we're Sears.

At Sears, we stand behind our work.

When we fix your brakes, we'll give you what is called a Limited Warranty. It says if your new Sears brake linings or disc pads wear out within 25,000 miles, we'll either furnish new ones without charge or refund the money you paid for the parts. If Sears did the original installation, you pay only a pro-rated labor charge to install the replacements.

What's more, there are over 600 Sears Tire and Auto Centers, nationwide, where we do brake jobs—600 Centers to stand behind our work.

Because we use only top quality, new pads and shoes.

At Sears, we don't use rebuilt or used pads or brake shoes. If you need parts not included in our normal brake job (a master cylinder, for instance), they'll be new, too.

Because we have trained brake specialists.

Brakes are vitally important, so brake mechanics have to be good.

And at Sears we work hard to make our brake mechanics good.

In fact, we have our own schools for brake specialists.

Because our brake job is a thorough job.

First, we inspect your brakes. In fact, we invite you to come in for an inspection. We'll give you an estimate. Then, if you want the work done, we promise to get your car in and finished the same day—or Sears next working day—Monday through Saturday.

Finished means we'll install new brake shoes on your drum brakes or new disc pads on your disc brakes. We'll also install new front oil seals. And new hold down and return springs on the axles we're working on. We'll clean, inspect and repack wheel bearings. Rebuild wheel cylinders and calipers. Adjust the emergency brake, flush and bleed the hydraulic system and replace the brake fluid with Sears heavy-duty fluid.

Then a Sears mechanic will give the car a complete road test to make sure everything's right.

$69.99 Yet a complete, 2-wheel brake job at Sears is just $69.99 for either disc or drum brakes. If you need a 4-wheel job, we offer that at $119.99. (If you need to replace the drums or rotors, master cylinder, brake lines, or rear oil seals, the parts and labor are extra.)

It all adds up to a complete brake job at a very competitive price. And it's all backed by Sears.

You can count on

Sears

© Sears, Roebuck and Co., 1981

Come in for a brake inspection. If you need work, we'll do it today. Or the next Sears working day–Monday through Saturday.

Sears does brake work on most cars.

HAS HOLLYWOOD GONE WITH THE WIND?
ABC NEWS CLOSEUP
presents
"HOORAY FOR HOLLYWOOD"
An Unconventional Look at the Troubled American Film Industry
ALAN ARKIN · MICHAEL CIMINO · ROBERT DeNIRO
HARRISON FORD · NASTASSIA KINSKI · STEVE MARTIN
PETER O'TOOLE · FRANK PRICE · ROBERT REDFORD
PAUL SCHRADER · MARTIN SCORSESE · RAQUEL WELCH
Produced by Emmy Award-winners Alan and Susan Raymond.
Sunday, October 11, 7:00PM/6:00PM Central
Or immediately following the American League playoffs.

Sally And Mike Have Teamed Up To Send Love Around The World.

Baseball star Mike Schmidt has joined his friend Sally Struthers in her efforts to send love and support to needy children around the world. Through Christian Children's Fund. Mike sponsors a little girl and he'd like to tell you about her.

"Marta is very special to me. She needs me and I can't tell you how important that makes me feel. She lives in a very poor village in Guatemala. Her home is little more than a mud hut. There is no sanitation. And poverty and disease are all around her. But, thanks to Christian Children's Fund, I'm able to help.

"Marta goes to a special center every day where she is fed a good, wholesome meal. Her mother goes, too, and learns how to prepare better food. And when Marta's strong and healthy, my sponsoring her will mean she can have a chance to go to school.

"For just $18 a month, you can help a child like Marta. You needn't send any money now. Just mail in the coupon below.

"Christian Children's Fund will send you a child's photograph and family background information.

"You'll learn about Christain Children's Fund, how and where the child will be helped, and how your 60¢ a day can help make a big difference in a poor child's life.

Photo by Barry Fitzgerald

"You'll also learn how you can write and receive letters in return. It's a very special way for you to share your sponsored child's life.

"Please send in the coupon today. Join Sally's Team. And you'll know what I know. The joy of being needed by one small child who's reaching out for your love."

Send Your Love Around The World.

Dr. James MacCracken
CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc., Box 26511, Richmond, VA 23261 NTIMO2

I wish to sponsor a boy ☐ girl ☐ either ☐ in

☐ Bolivia	☐ India	☐ Mexico	☐ Thailand
☐ Brazil	☐ Indonesia	☐ Niger	☐ Uganda
☐ Guatemala	☐ Kenya	☐ Philippines	

☐ Any child who needs my help. If you would like to sponsor more than one child in any of the above countries, please specify the number in box[es] of your choice.

PLEASE SEND MY INFORMATION PACKAGE TODAY.

☐ I want to learn more about the child assigned to me. If I accept the child, I'll send my first sponsorship payment of $18 within 10 days. Or I'll return the photograph and other material so you can ask someone else to help.

☐ I prefer to send my first payment now; enclosed is my first monthly payment of $18 for each child.
☐ I cannot sponsor a child but would like to contribute $_____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

In the U.S.: CCF, Box 26511, Richmond, VA 23261
In Canada: CCF, 1407 Yonge St., Toronto, Ontario M4T 1Y8
Member of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc.
Gifts are tax deductible. Statement of income and expenses available on request.

Christian Children's Fund, Inc.

In Brooklyn: A Wolf in $45 Sneakers

Baby Love sits on the stoop, rolling the largest, fattest joint in the world. He wastes little: in go twigs, seeds, everything, until it seems as big as a torpedo. Other joints are tucked over each ear, and more are secreted in plastic bags under his hat. It is Friday night, the night to get high, get drunk and strut. Baby Love's entire wrecking crew is here, sprawled over cars, squatting on the sidewalk, jiving. There is Shistang ("He be cool with dice"), Little Spank, Gugu, Snake Eyes, Shilo, Spider Man, Daddy Rich, Little June, Snatch Pocket Earl and Snootchy Fingers.

"We be in the streets hangin' out an' gettin' high," says Baby Love. He is a very skinny, very small, very lethal 14-year-old. His eyes are slate gray, flashing to blue when he laughs. Mischief is etched across his face as a bittersweet smile. Like his crew, he is dressed in mugger's uniform: designer jeans, T shirt and $45 Pumas, the starched laces neatly untied. A wolf in expensive sneakers, Baby Love is a school dropout, one of more than 800,000 between the ages of 14 and 17 in the U.S.

Baby Love inhabits a world few white folks ever see, a Dickensian hell of cheap thrills, senseless deaths and almost unrelieved hopelessness. He lives in Brooklyn's Bedford Stuyvesant section, one of the oldest black settlements in the U.S. Unlike the burned and ravaged South Bronx, ten miles to the north, Bedford Stuyvesant does not resemble a war zone; most of its owner-occupied row houses, brownstones and churches are more or less intact. But high unemployment and a 60% dropout rate among black high school students make it a very dangerous place. One Bed-Stuy precinct, the 77th, has the highest murder rate in the city: 86 killings last year.

Baby Love is trapped. He can barely read or write, even though he would have been in the seventh grade this year. Because he is nearly illiterate he could never hold even the meanest job for long. He has been running wild so long now that he may be beyond redemption. Ghetto children today are seduced much earlier by drugs and the street, some of them as young as eight or nine. That is the time they need help. Sinbad Lockwood, a Bed-Stuy street artist who tries to wean boys like Baby Love away from the streets to painting, says, "It be the parents' fault, they gets rid of the kids by sending them to the candy store where they be buying reefer and beer. These kids ain't no monsters—they be raising themselves, that's all."

Baby Love is almost always stoned. He rises late, plays basketball in the park or galactic-warfare games at the pinball arcade all day. If there is any money left over, he and Daddy Rich go to karate movies. He juggles four chicks with Casanova skill,

JOHN BRIGHT

Baby Love just hangin' out, rollin' a joint

and he makes enough from gambling and stealing to be a real "sportin' man."

For Baby Love, stealing means survival. He is the best gold-chain snatcher on the block. "I pretends to be making a phone call when the bus be comin' along," he explains, "so the driver won't warn the passengers. Then when it be by, I's leapin' in the air with my hand through the window and gone befo' anyone sees." He breaks into laughter, slapping skin all round. He has been caught five times this summer for pickpocketing. At Macy's he was caught boosting eight blue Izod Lacoste shirts in his Adidas bag. He has just finished 60 days' probation.

Baby Love lives on the fourth floor of a crumbling, turn-of-the-century tenement with his aunt and legal guardian, Cora Lee. He sleeps on a stained mattress in a small room he often shares with his cousins, Butter and Buckeye, and with an army of roaches that waddle fatly across the floor. His two younger sisters, Shantia, 11, and Sarah, 8, are also in Cora Lee's charge. Baby Love's mother, Rose, stays there too. They are all receiving welfare payments.

There have been three bad fires in Baby Love's building in the past couple of years. The fifth floor is gutted. He and his crew now use it as their clubhouse. Baby Love uses the roof as an escape route from police. He jumps across a yawning chasm to the next building, then he is down the stairs and away. "We be doin' this when we drunk," says Baby Love with an impish smile. A born hustler, he is slick at pool and dice. He gambles Friday nights in front of BeeGee's candy store with men who feed him *chiba chiba*, a Puerto Rican expression for an especially potent kind of marijuana, the reefer that zoots you out.

He thinks Bruce Lee is a cool dude, but "Richard Pryor is the Man," says Baby Love. "He got power." The violence Baby Love sees on the screen is not much different from what he faces on the street. He was 13 when he first saw a man blown away—with a shotgun. He has faced down a few gunslingers himself. He sometimes carries a .25 automatic. "All my friends got guns," he says. "We go and try and shoot birds in the park." Trees are beaten to death in ghetto parks. Youngsters, too, get killed on summer evenings when there is disco music in the air. Tough, mean young men shoot it out like Western heroes of old. The dead are dumped in trashed buildings. Some of Baby Love's friends did not live through the summer. A cheeky dude like him risks death or injury every time he steps outside. Being small does not help. He was always getting beaten up until he learned to steal. Now he can bribe would-be assailants with reefer. He sometimes spends $20 a day on the stuff.

On Friday nights the crowds along Fulton and Nostrand avenues ebb and flow like a tide. Dudes are gambling up and down the streets. The sweet smell of reefer is everywhere, and wine bottles are passed around. Up the block, twelve-year-old hookers teeter on high heels, flouncing their boyish hips. There are drunken brawls, skin-and-bone addicts overdosing, police sirens screaming and the rattle of the el in the distance.

A procession of dudes pauses to talk to Baby Love. Most have done hard time. Some push dope, many are boozers. All have bitter wisdom. Crocodile comes by waving a bottle of vodka, his eyes gleaming yellow. He tells Baby Love, "Wait till you do hard time, boy. They'll pat your butt, they'll feel you. You'll come home swishing like a girl." A huge dude, his muscles rippling, speaks in a cool bass: "I got a pair of $600 lizard shoes and I got silk shirts. I'm the Man, boy. I changes my clothes 15 times a day. Learn to hustle girls, and you can wear dark shades and sharkskin suits and ride a big white Caddy." Riff the horn player sniffs in disgust. "You've got to have dignity, boy, you be nothing without dignity. The only way to beat the Man is be going to school. Go back to school, boy."

INTRODUCING THE SUBARU HILL-HOLDER.™* WHAT YOU ALWAYS NEEDED IN THE CLUTCH.

You know that sinking feeling that can come over you when you stop on a hill with a standard shift automobile?

Well, now, in a Subaru, you don't have to hold your breath. With an exclusive Subaru feature called Hill-Holder, your car won't roll backwards.

Just depress the clutch and brake, and the Hill-Holder automatically engages.

When your foot is removed from the brake, the car will not roll backward.

In fact, it will remain motionless until the clutch is released and the accelerator depressed to proceed up the hill.

No drifting back. No white knuckles. No sweat. You no longer go downhill on your way uphill.

SUBARU®
INEXPENSIVE. AND BUILT TO STAY THAT WAY.

*AVAILABLE ON CERTAIN MODELS.

© SUBARU OF AMERICA, INC. 1981

Sweet dreams.

Somewhere, a child just like Savita awaits your help.

Until one Foster Parent entered Savita's world, a grass bed on a dirt floor was all she could ever hope for. Along with crowded living conditions, not enough food and unsanitary drinking water. Hardly the stuff dreams are made of.

Until one person changed the bitter realities. One Foster Parent's contributions helped put nourishing food on her plate and proper clothing on her back. Helped provide a well full of fresh, clean water. And a school where Savita's mother can leave her to learn rather than sweat in fields where adults labor.

Doing without was the only way of life Savita could imagine. Until one Foster Parent's letters filled with love brought hope. And a new belief that her world could be a better place. Because somewhere, someone cares.

Somewhere one loving person is helping change the world, one child at a time. You, too, can turn a little child's bitter realities into sweet dreams. All it takes is a commitment. Call us toll-free, right now, at 1-800-621-5809.

Yes!

B464

____ I will help a child. Enclosed is my check for $_____.
I will contribute ____ $22 monthly, ____ $66 quarterly,
____ $132 bi-yearly, ____ $264 yearly.
____ Please send me a photo and case history before I decide.
____ I want to help by contributing $_____.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State ____ Zip ____

Foster Parents Plan
157 Plan Way, Warwick, Rhode Island 02887 MEMBER

The Self-Help PLAN for Child/Family/Community in the Developing World.

American Scene

Baby Love sneers. He stands up. "I'm goin' get all I wants," he says, "and I don' care if I gotta steal to get it. I'm not afraid of doin' time so long as I kin do it fast." Then he goes up to the clubhouse with Daddy Rich. He lies on a mattress puffing on an El Producto cigar hollowed out and filled with *chiba chiba*. There is a bottle of 150-proof Bacardi rum by his side. The cassette player throbs and, for a moment, Baby Love is warm and secure, at peace and flying high.

Baby Love's real name is Curtis Anthony Devlin. This is the one he uses in family court. "He ain't bad, you understand," says his Aunt Cora. "He just don't like school. And there is no one here he minds." Cora is trying to get Baby Love into a Roman Catholic residential school in upstate New York that specializes in problem children. "But I don't know if he'll stay there. One thing I do know—if he keeps on stealing gold chains he's going to be in a heap of trouble, and that's for sure."

Where did Baby Love go wrong? His mother, Rose, 31, does not deny that she was a drug addict. "I'm an alcoholic too," she adds. She gave up legal custody of her children to Aunt Cora last year. According to Rose, Baby Love's father is an alcoholic, a drug addict and a bisexual. He was doing time at Attica during the prison's 1971 riots, shrugs Rose, and "he flipped his brains. That's why I divorced him." His father beat Baby Love up often with his fists, says Rose, and once he did so with an extension cord. When Baby Love retaliated with a piece of heavy steel pipe, she recalls, his father took him to the police and demanded, futilely, that he be locked up.

Baby Love rebelled against his mother when she started sleeping with other men. He was only five. She says, "My Curtis steals anything he can get. It is my fault. He saw me steal a woman's pocketbook. It had a lot of money in it. Curtis, he gets high on money now. It's all he wants, that an' reefer."

Despite all the stealing, the drugs, the barely suppressed rage, Baby Love can be polite, almost genteel. He is gracious at table; he learned manners from his grandmother. He can keep house, wash dishes, do the marketing and look after his sisters and baby cousin. He is the only one who can get his mother off the streets when she is drugged and nodding. Once, when she nearly overdosed, he dragged her from the kitchen, poured hot and cold water on her feet and burned her arms with a lighted cigarette to revive her.

Baby Love walks with a slight limp. His mother explains that he had a serious accident while playing ball in the streets when he was four. He was run over by a car and his left leg, right arm and most of his ribs were broken. Rose then did one of the few constructive things she has done in her sad life: she sued the driver and got a settlement of $3,000, which is now in trust. Baby Love will get the money when he turns 21. If he lives that long.

—By James Wilde

8 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine
av. per cigarette by FTC method.
It's new. It's beige.
More
Lights
100s
Box
8mg
More
Lights
100s
menthol
More
Lights
100s
regular
It's more you.
Warning The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

Why the Olympus OM-10 should be your first quality automatic SLR.

1. Ease of operation. It's this simple: No 35mm Single Lens Reflex camera is easier to use than the fully automatic Olympus OM-10. The genius of Chief Designer Maitani has created a camera so easy, so automatic, that you'll see superb results the very first time you use it.

2. Great pictures, automatically. You'll take brilliant 35mm photographs with the OM-10 automatically. Because the OM-10's state-of-the-art electronics set the correct exposure for you, nothing is left to chance. And you're left free to simply focus and shoot.

3. Off-the-film metering. OTF sounds deeply technical but it means simply this: The OM-10 measures the light during the exposure *off the film itself*. And it continues to measure and adjust exposure even after you press the shutter release. Olympus made the world's first 35mm SLR that keeps working–automatically–when you need it most.

4. Room to grow. When you want the creativity that comes with full exposure control, your OM-10 is ready. With the manual adapter you can select any combination of shutter speed and aperture–to get the exact effect desired.

5. The right price. The fully automatic OM-10 offers features unavailable on many of the highest-priced SLR's... features you wouldn't expect at *any* price.

6. The right size and weight. Bulky, heavy cameras have caused many people to decide against stepping up to an SLR. These problems don't exist with the OM-10, a camera that's part of the world's first compact 35mm SLR system. Olympus started the move to smaller, lighter, simpler cameras.

7. Flash exposure indicator. More valuable technical innovation. A light inside the OM-10's viewfinder tells you if you've taken a correctly exposed photo with your Olympus flash. That's a feature just not found on most cameras.

8. More room to grow. Unlike many SLR's, the OM-10 gives you a choice of 33 quality Olympus lenses. These lenses are the same lenses designed for the most expensive Olympus cameras.

9. The OM System. The lenses mentioned above are just a part of the remarkable OM System: the world's largest array of compact accessories made to fit a 35mm SLR. From flashes to carrying cases, lenses to auto winders, more than 300 accessories in the OM System are ready for your OM-10.

10. Interchangeablity. If you do decide to move up to an OM-1 or OM-2, you'll be able to take along virtually every accessory–and *all* the lenses–you've bought for your OM-10.

11. Failsafe electronic operation. A comprehensive group of safety devices linked to a pair of high-capacity electronic brains make the prospect of spoiled photos and wasted film unlikely. More than a dozen of these safety devices work automatically toward one goal: Helping you take terrific photographs.

12. The best reason of all. Because it's an Olympus. Designed from a clean sheet of paper to be a breakthrough in camera engineering, to be an integral part of the Olympus tradition of excellence by design...a tradition we invite you to share. For complete information on the OM-10, see your dealer. Or write Olympus, Woodbury, NY 11797.

OLYMPUS®

TIME

Founders: BRITON HADDEN 1898-1929 HENRY R. LUCE 1898-1967

Editor-in-Chief: Henry Anatole Grunwald
President: J. Richard Munro
Chairman of the Board: Ralph P. Davidson
Executive Vice President: Clifford J. Grum
Chairman, Executive Committee: James R. Shepley
Editorial Director: Ralph Graves
Group Vice President, Magazines: Kelso F. Sutton
Vice Chairman: Arthur Temple

MANAGING EDITOR: Ray Cave
EXECUTIVE EDITORS: Edward L. Jamieson, Jason McManus
ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS: Richard L. Duncan, Ronald P. Kriss
NATIONAL EDITOR: John T. Elson
SENIOR EDITORS: James D. Atwater, Martha M. Duffy, William F. Ewald, Timothy Foote, Timothy M. James, Stefan Kanfer, Donald Morrison, Christopher Porterfield, Stephen Smith, George M. Taber
International Editor: Karsten Prager
Chief of Research: Leah Shanks Gordon
ART DIRECTOR: Rudolph Hoglund
PICTURE EDITOR: Arnold H. Drapkin
OPERATIONS DIRECTOR: Gerard C. Lelièvre
SENIOR WRITERS: George J. Church, Michael Demarest, Otto Friedrich, Robert Hughes, T.E. Kalem, Ed Magnuson, Lance Morrow, Roger Rosenblatt, R.Z. Sheppard, Frank Trippett
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Patricia Blake, Christopher Byron, Gerald Clarke, Richard Corliss, Spencer Davidson, Frederic Golden, Paul Gray, Dorothy Haystead, William A. Henry III, Ruth Mehrtens Galvin, Agnes Isgaard, Marguerite Johnston, John Leo, Mayo Mohs, Henry Muller, John Nussbaum, Richard N. Ostling, Frederick Painton, R.L. Phillips, J.D. Reed, George Russell, Thomas A. Sancton, William E. Smith, Maryanna Purdy Vega, Edwin G. Warner
STAFF WRITERS: Charles P. Alexander, Kurt Andersen, Bennett H. Beach, F. Graydon Carter, Janice Castro, John S. DeMott, William Doughton, James Kelly, Elsie McGrath, Sara C. Mosley, Jay D. Pierrel, Kenneth M. Pierce, Edward E. Schaeff, Alexander L. Taylor III, Anastasia Toufexis, Claudia Wallis, Michael Walsh
CONTRIBUTORS: A.T. Baker, Jay Cocks, Thomas Griffith, Melvin Maddocks, Jane O'Reilly, Richard Schickel, John Skow
REPORTER RESEARCHERS: Joyce Nalasco le Gallo, Sue Rafferty, Betty Satterwhite Sutter (Department Heads); Audrey Ball, Peggy T. Berman, Nancy McD. Chase, Oscar Dixon, Eileen Cha, Elaine Dutka, Georgia Harbison, Anne Hopkins, John Kohan, Nancy Newman, Susan M. Reed, Victoria Sams, Dena Sparks, Susanne Washburn, Genevieve A. Wilson-Smith, Watergate Taupin, Barbara Shelley (Staff)
Peter Amsbie, Bernard Baumohl, Richard Bruns, Robert J. Bunger, Rosemary Byrnes, Valencia Castronovo, Rosamond Draper, Philip Faflick, Kathryn Jackson Fallon, Cassie T. Furguson, Robert T. Grieves, Adrianne Jucius, Geraldine Kirshenbaum, Stephen Koepp, Melissa Ludtke Lincoln, Naushad S. Mehta, Jamie Murphy, Jeanne Marie North, Brigid O'Hara-Forster, Judith B. Prowda, Barry Rehfeld, Elizabeth Rudulph, Alan L. Sanders, Marion H. Sanders, Sidney Urquhart, Jane Van Tassel, Nancy Pierce Williamson, Denise M. Worrell, Linda Young
CORRESPONDENTS: Richard L. Duncan (Chief); R. Edward Jackson, B. William Mader (Deputies). **Washington Contributing Editor:** Hugh Sidey **Diplomatic Correspondent:** Strobe Talbott
Senior Correspondents: Ruth Mehrtens Galvin, William Rademaekers, Sandy Smith, John F. Stacks
Washington: Robert Ajemian, Barrett Seaman, Laurence I. Barrett, Jonathan Beaty, David Beckwith, Gisela Bolte, Douglas Brew, Maureen Dowd, Hays Gorey, Jerry Hannifin, David S. Jackson, Gary Lee, Neil MacNeil, Johanna McGeary, Bruce W. Nelan, Jeanne Saddler, Roberto Suro, Evan Thomas, Gregory H. Wierzynski **Chicago:** Christopher Ogden, J. Madeleine Nash, Ken Banta, Jay Branegan, Patricia Delaney, Lee Griggs, Steven Holmes **Los Angeles:** Benjamin W. Cate, Robert L. Goldstein, Joseph J. Kane, Jeff Meiwon, Martha Sinclair, Alessandra Stanley **New York:** Peter Stoler, Dean Brelis, Barbara B. Dolan, Dorothy Ferenbaugh, Harry Kelly, Rudolph S. Rauch III, Janice C. Simpson, Frederick Ungeheuer, Bruce van Voorst, James Wilde **Atlanta:** Joseph N. Boyce, Anne Constable **Boston:** Barry Hillenbrand, Joelle Attinger, John E. Yang, James Bell **Detroit:** Paul A. Witteman, Christopher Redman **San Francisco:** William R. Doerner, Michael Moritz **Denver:** Richard Woodbury **Houston:** Sam Allis
Europe: Lawrence Malkin **London:** Bonnie Angelo, Mary Cronin, James Shepherd, Arthur White **Paris:** Jordan Bonfante, William Blaylock, Sandra Burton **Bonn:** Wilfried Bamm, D.L. Coutu **Eastern Europe:** Richard Hornik **Rome:** Wilton Wynn, Barry Kalb **Jerusalem:** David Aikman, David Halevy, Marlen Levin **Cairo:** Robert C. Wurmstedt **Beirut:** William Stewart, Adam Zagorin **Moscow:** Erik Amfitheatrof **Hong Kong:** Ross H. Munro, Bing W. Wong **Bangkok:** David DeVoss **Peking:** Richard Bernstein **Nairobi:** Jack E. White **Johannesburg:** Marish Clark **New Delhi:** Marcia Gauper **Tokyo:** Edwin M. Reingold, S. Chang, Frank Iwama **Melbourne:** John Dunn **Canada:** John M. Scott, Ed Ogle **Rio de Janeiro:** Gavin Scott **Mexico City:** James Wilwerth **Caribbean:** William McWhirter, Bernard Diederich
News Desk: Suzanne Davis, Al Buist, Tam Martindes Gray, Susan Lynd, Blanche Holley, David Richardson, Joan R. White, Arturo Yáñez **Administration:** Emily Friedrich, Linda D. Vartoogian
ART: Nigel Holmes, Irene Ramp (Deputy Directors); Arturo Cazeneuve, Leonard S. Levine, Anthony J. Libardi, William Spencer (Assistant Directors). Lily Hou (Designer); Rosemary L. Frank (Covers); Nickolas Kalamaras **Layout:** Bunor Nargolwala (Chief); John P. Brown, Jean F. Speer (Deputies); Ernest Ambrosino, Steve Conroy, Travis Dragon, Carmel Dunham, Modris Ramans, Kenneth Smith, John White, Barbara Wilhelm **Maps and Charts:** Paul J. Pugliese, Joseph Arnon, E. Noel McCoy, Deborah L. Wells
PHOTOGRAPHY: Sue Considine, Michele Stephenson (Deputies); Demetra Kosters, Helen Eisenberg (Administration). **Researchers:** Evelyn Mermin, Richard L. Boeth, Anne Callahan, Gay Franklin, Martha L. Haymaker, Paula Hornak, Peter J. Kellner, Rose Keyser, Susan Lombardo, Eva Nutt, Julia Richer, Carol Saner, Nancy Smith-Alam, Mary Thermo **Photographers:** Eddie Adams, Walter Bennett, Sahm Doherty, Arthur Grace, Derck Halsteen, Peter Jordan, David Hume Kennerly, Neil Leifer, Ben Martin, Mark Meyer, Rodney E. Mims, Ralph Morse, Stephen Northup, Bill Pierce, David Rubinger, Ted Thai, Diana Walker, John Zimmerman
MAKEUP: Charles P. Jackson (Chief), Eugene F. Coyle (International); Leonard Schulman, John M. Cavanagh (Deputies); Peter J. McGuillam
OPERATIONS: Anne R. Davis (Deputy Director); Sue Aitkin (Production Chief), Stephen F. Demeter (Systems Manager); Susan B. Hahn (Copy Chief), Eleanor Edgar, Judith Anne Faul, Joseph T. Sawicki, Theodore Stewart (Editors); L. Roberts Armstrong, Shirley Zimmerman (Supervisors); Thomas Abatemarco, Dolores Alexander, Frances Bander, Minda Bikman, Robert Brame, Madeleine Butler, Trang Ba Chuong, Joan Cleary, Dorothy Coze, Gary Deaton, Manuel Delgado, Leo Deuel, Lucia Hamet, Evelyn Hannon, Garry Hearne, Agustin Lamboy, Jeannine Laverty, Linda Lehrhaupt, Marcia L. Love, Katherine Mihok, Emily Mitchell, James D. Mountjoy, Bill O'Connor, Alma Routsong, Marcia Schlafmitz, Barbara Scott, Lee R. Sparks, Walter J. Tate, Linda Tawfik, Alan Washburn, Amelia Weiss
LETTERS: Jean O. Wylie (Chief)
EDITORIAL SERVICES: Christiana Walford (Director), George Karas, Benjamin Lightman, Alex Stack, Elizabeth G. Young

PUBLISHER: John A. Meyer
General Manager: Donald L. Spindle
Promotion Director: Robert D. Sweeney
Circulation Director: Richard A. Anglin Jr.
Business Manager: Arthur E. Sachs
ADVERTISING SALES DIRECTOR: William M. Kelly Jr.
U.S. Advertising Sales Director: George W. McClellan
Associate U.S. Adv. Sales Director: Charles D. Hogan

LECTRIC SHAVE MAKES YOUR BRISTLES STAND UP FOR A CLOSER SHAVE.

Lectric Shave is putting its money where your face is. Here's the deal: apply Lectric Shave® to one side of your face. Then use your electric razor. Compare the Lectric Shave side with the dry side. The Lectric Shave side should feel closer, smoother. That's because Lectric Shave makes your beard stand up. So you shave closer, faster, with less irritation.

OR YOUR MONEY BACK.

GUARANTEE

If you don't agree that Lectric Shave gives you a closer shave, we'll give you a complete refund. Just send your bottle of Lectric Shave with the unused portion and the cash register receipt with the purchase price circled to: J.B. Williams, Lectric Shave Guarantee Offer, P.O. Box 5036, Hicksville, New York 11816.

A REMARKABLE MEDICINE HAS BEEN OVERLOOKED

WITH A LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

Dear Mr. President:

I write you about a matter of such urgency and importance that it requires the attention of your office.

The properties of a remarkable and versatile medicine are being overlooked because of a flaw in our system of bringing medicines to the public. This is to the great detriment of the health of the American public, and millions of people suffer because of it. This tragic condition can be remedied—almost overnight.

Jack Dreyfus

A fascinating narrative in which the author brings the reader with him through his twenty years' experience with a well established but overlooked medicine.

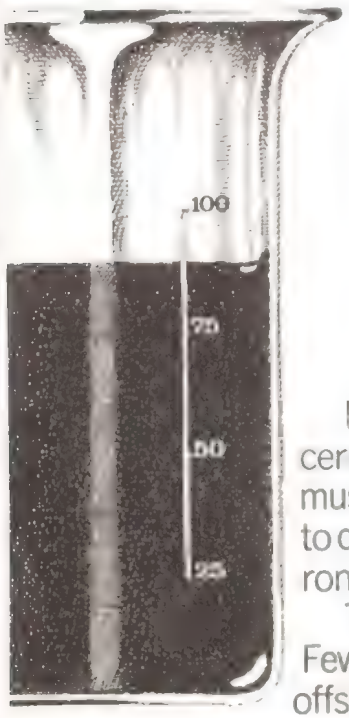
And over 200 pages of medical and scientific information, condensed from the world literature by the Dreyfus Medical Foundation.

$9.95 at your bookstore
Simon and Schuster

The promise of oil lies just beyond our shore. Some say the risk puts it beyond our reach.

There may be more than 20 billion barrels of oil still to be discovered beneath our offshore waters. And, along with it, possibly 100 trillion cubic feet of natural gas.

Today, technology gives us the potential of tapping these vast reserves.



But every concerned American must demand answers to questions about environmental safety.

The facts are these: Few of the 21,000 current offshore wells have caused environmental problems.

And technology is further reducing the risk. This includes pumping techniques and blowout preventers that automatically shut down wells at the first sign of an emergency, sealing the well against fluid leakage.

What's more, commercial and sport fishing actually improves around oil platforms. They provide underwater areas where marine life can flourish.

Offshore oil and gas now provide about 10 percent of our daily energy needs. With only 2 percent of the country's one billion acres of potential offshore oil now leased, there is clearly much oil to be explored for under the sea.

Through our ARCO Oil and Gas Company, we're working to develop the safest, most dependable way of getting the most out of the oil America has to offer.

Atlantic Richfield and thousands of Americans who have invested with us believe that exploring undersea is important in reducing our dependence on foreign oil.

And that's something we can't afford to ignore.

There are no easy answers.

ARCO

Atlantic Richfield Company

GM
These are practical times.
But nobody says they have to be dull.
Proof? The new 1982 Cutlass Supreme Brougham. Outside, clean lines and classic styling. Inside, a luxury interior with deep-tufted velour seats and a smooth, quiet ride. But under the hood, the kind of sensible mileage today's fuel-efficient times demand. All of which makes Cutlass America's most popular car. And, clearly demonstrates that you don't have to look practical to be practical.
Cutlass Supreme.
Even today, there's still room to do it with style.
Oldsmobile
We've had one built for you.
STANDARD V6
30 Hwy Est. 21 EPA Est mpg
Use estimated mpg for comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance, weather. Actual highway mileage lower. Some Oldsmobiles are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details. Oldsmobile projections of 1982 EPA estimates. See your dealer for actual EPA estimates.
DIESEL V6
36 Hwy Est. 25 EPA Est mpg

TIME/OCTOBER 12, 1981

Closing a Window, Slowly

Reagan decides to build the MX and B-1, but leaves a few doors open

Ready to go: a prototype of the sleek, needle-nosed B-1 bomber on the tarmac at Edwards Air Force Base in California

The "window of vulnerability" is one of the more intriguing, and unsettling, concepts to occupy the restless minds of defense planners in years. It holds that the increasing size and accuracy of Soviet missiles will soon make the U.S. land-based nuclear force vulnerable to a first strike. Ronald Reagan last week moved to close that window, slowly, but serious doubts remained about whether he had succeeded.

In a press briefing at the White House, Reagan announced that he had decided to go ahead with production of both the MX missile and the B-1 bomber. Those much disputed weapons systems would be part of a $180 billion modernization of America's nuclear forces, a program that would upgrade all three legs of the nation's strategic triad of air-, sea- and land-based nuclear weapons. With Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger at his side, Reagan said he plans to deploy at least 100 MX missiles, which are capable of traveling 8,000 miles and dropping their warheads within 100 yards of a target. The first ones will be ready by 1986. But the President scuttled the much criticized "shell game" plan, first proposed by former President Jimmy Carter. Under that scheme, also known as the "race track" or "drag strip" option, 200 MXs would be shuttled periodically among 4,600 shelters in Utah and Nevada to keep the Soviets guessing. Said Reagan: "No matter how many shelters we might build, the Soviets can build more missiles, more quickly and just as cheaply."

Instead, the President proposed placing the first batch of 36 missiles, each carrying ten warheads, in rebuilt and "superhardened" Titan II missile sites in Arizona, Arkansas and Kansas. The President said he wanted to keep his options open on how to base the missiles permanently and pledged to make up his mind no later than by 1984. Three possibilities for that are now being studied:

▸ To load the missiles onto a new, as yet undesigned generation of large, slow aircraft, dubbed "Big Bird," which would carry the MX aloft on permanent patrol and launch it in mid-air.

▸ To perfect an antiballistic missile that would protect silos containing the MX by knocking out incoming enemy warheads.

▸ To place the MX in extra-deep silos sunk into mountainsides, thus allowing the missile to survive a nuclear attack.

Reagan also announced that he wants to build 100 new B-1 bombers, at a cost of $200 million apiece. The plane will be more sophisticated in both wing design and electronic equipment than the 1977 version scrapped by Carter. It is expected to start rolling off the assembly lines of Rockwell International by 1986. Meanwhile, some of the nation's 349 aging B-52s, whose ability to penetrate Soviet air defenses has been steadily eroding, will be modernized to serve as carriers for the cruise missile. Reagan also declared that research would continue on an entirely new bomber, the "Stealth," whose design enables it to thwart enemy detection by means of its streamlined shape and radar-absorbent coating. The Stealth, however, will not be finished until the 1990s; the refurbished B-52s and the new B-1s are designed to fill the strategic void until the next decade.

Paul Laxalt

Among Reagan's other proposals:

▸ To continue building one Trident nuclear submarine every year. The Pentagon will also steam ahead with its plan to develop a new missile for the Trident, called the D-5, which would be the first submarine-launched rocket with warheads accurate enough to destroy enemy missile silos.

▸ To upgrade radar and satellite systems so the President would be kept in better touch with American forces during a nuclear attack.

▸ To improve North America's air defense, in cooperation with Canada, by adding six AWACS radar planes and five squadrons of F-15 fighters.

▸ To continue research on antiballistic missile systems, including some that might be based in outer space.

The decision to drop the gargantuan desert shell game was immediately praised by residents of Utah and Nevada who did not want to see their states turned into a missile range. "It's a great victory," exulted Susan Dutson, publisher of the Millard County (Utah) *Chronicle*. Republican Governor Robert List of Nevada said he "couldn't be happier. We would have been simply totaled out by the thing. I spell relief n-o-M-X." Said John

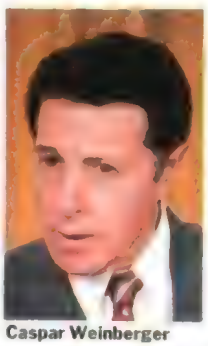
Photographs at top for TIME by Mark Meyer

At a Nevada testing ground, a workman is dwarfed by a mammoth vehicle carrying the canister designed to hold an MX missile

Hooper, a public land specialist with the Sierra Club: "It's good news. We're very pleased."

The leadership of the powerful Mormon Church had opposed the project, as did Republican Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, a good friend of Reagan's. Laxalt freely admits that he "used all the influence I could bring to bear" to dissuade Reagan from the shell-game option, but Administration officials denied that politics—or friendship—played a part in the President's decision. "That is absolutely wrong," said Weinberger. Nonetheless, White House officials were mindful of the opposition, and realized that the drag strip approach might have got bogged down in court challenges for years

The President's plan was generally well received on Capitol Hill. "Good, sound and sensible," pronounced Republican Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker. In the House, Democrat Ronald Dellums of California called the MX decision "a limited first step toward sanity." Yet Republican John Tower of Texas, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, declared himself "gravely disappointed" with Reagan's decision not to play the MX shell game. Said Tower: "This program seriously degrades the planned modernization of our land-based leg of the triad."



Caspar Weinberger

Will Reagan's plan indeed slam shut the "window of vulnerability"? The Pentagon claims that the program will by 1990 roughly double the number of U.S strategic weapons that could survive a Soviet nuclear attack. But this claim is neither explained nor justified by Pentagon officials. Indeed, the Administration has done nothing to move Minuteman missiles out of the vulnerability window, and the MX has no basing mode of its own as yet. As long as either remains in a fixed-site silo, it is vulnerable to attack

Of all the basing options for the MX, Weinberger clearly favors the "Big Bird" alternative. But the plane is still a drawing-board fantasy, and it is doubtful whether enough could be built at a reasonable price by 1989, when all 100 MX missiles are scheduled to be completed. Perfecting an anti-ballistic missile to defend the MX raises a whole new range of hazards. An ABM system must be close to 100% effective to be worth building at all, and senior Defense officials admit that no technology exists to meet that exacting standard In addition, an ABM system could not be deployed unless the U.S. renounces or renegotiates the 1972 ABM treaty with the Soviet Union

As for the B-1 bomber decision, critics contend that the new plane will be obsolete by the late 1980s, when the Soviets will have beefed up their air-defense system. Indeed, Politics Professor William Kaufmann of M.I.T. argues that the Reagan plan proves the Administration is not worried about short-term vulnerability, and has only delayed solving the long-term problems. Says Kaufmann: "The window of vulnerability is not closing. It has simply been moved."

Despite the fact that most of the Pentagon brass backed the race track option for the MX, the White House rejected the plan both because of its high price tag (estimated cost: $75 billion) and because it is believed the system would still be vulnerable to Soviet missiles. Says a top White House aide: "The race track was dead as far back as the election campaign."

With the drag strip dumped, Weinberger preferred simply developing the smaller, so-called common missile—it could be fired from submarines or planes—rather than the more accurate MX; he then switched to a preference for basing the MX temporarily in C-5A transport planes. The wrangling dragged on for months, with the White House growing frustrated over Weinberger's dithering. Finally, Reagan chose to house the MX temporarily in the Titan missile silos while other options are studied further

Though serious doubts remain about the wisdom of Reagan's package, the President will probably win most, if not all, of his program from a defense-minded Congress. And the President pointedly remarked at his briefing that he considered all the new weapons systems negotiable in any future arms talks with Moscow. But the judgment still lingers that Reagan, after claiming that the U.S. had allowed a window of vulnerability to fly open, had still failed to shut it tight. —*By James Kelly. Reported by Bruce W. Nelan/Washington*

Brochure's illustration of Soviet nuclear-powered cruiser *Kirov*; inset, its cruise missiles

Throwing the Booklet at Moscow

A Defense Department portrait of Soviet military might

"There is a very real and growing threat. It is not scare talk or any kind of propaganda." With that dire warning, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger last week released a glossy, 99-page report titled *Soviet Military Power*. The study, illustrated with maps and photographs, describes in impressive detail the Soviet military machine and its ever growing arsenal of new weapons systems, tanks, missiles, ships, artillery and aircraft. Put together by the Defense Intelligence Agency, the report is the largest and most comprehensive release of declassified intelligence data in the Pentagon's history. Its purpose: to send a red alert to Americans and their allies that the U.S.S.R. is gaining a military edge over the West. Warned Weinberger: "We have to move very rapidly to correct the imbalances and regain our strength."

The report was released just three days before President Reagan announced his decisions on the MX missile and the B-1 bomber. Naturally, there was suspicion that the timing was designed to help the Pentagon justify the vast sums needed for the new strategic systems. Weinberger flatly denied the charge. Plans for the booklet, he said, began last April after the U.S. presentation of a top-secret "threat assessment" of Soviet military strength to NATO defense ministers in Bonn. The ministers were sufficiently impressed to urge Weinberger to make the study public so they could use it to defuse opposition in their own countries to hikes in defense spending, as well as to the planned basing of U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles on European soil.

Weinberger agreed, and over the next few months the Pentagon wrangled with the CIA over exactly what information could and could not be made public. For example, CIA officials vetoed satellite photos and insisted on fudging statistics, lest Moscow learn too much about how well the U.S. gathers its intelligence. The final document thus features full-color artists' renderings of satellite pictures, rounded-off figures, and vague predictions about forthcoming Soviet weaponry. "Every product of the intelligence community is a compromise," explained Weinberger. "Be thankful for small favors."

Although the report contains no startling disclosures, in its breadth of detail it is convincing—and even frightening. There are illustrations—drawn in rather crude Flash Gordon style from satellite photos—of the new 25,000-ton Typhoon missile submarine, an SS-20 launch site, the experimental T-80 tank and surface-to-air laser weapons. Maps target where Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles and intermediate-range SS-20s have been placed, chart the location of Soviet divisions, and illustrate the sweep of Soviet adventurism around the globe, complete with lists of technicians and advisers stationed abroad. To bolster its point that Moscow is forever building new weapons systems, the study cites Soviet development of a new long-range bomber and a radar warning and control plan similar to AWACS.

Among the other notable points:

▸ Moscow now fields some 50,000 tanks and 20,000 artillery pieces. The current Soviet edge in tanks (more than 3 to 1 in Europe) will grow even larger during the 1980s.

▸ In each of the past eight years, the Soviets have built more than 1,000 fighter planes, double the U.S. effort.

▸ All the 175 triple-headed SS-20 missiles now deployed in the western U.S.S.R. are equipped with an additional missile for refiring, so that each launcher can actually fire six warheads.

▸ There are 135 major military-industrial plants in the U.S.S.R. The report contains an outline of a tank plant in Nizhni Tagil (pop. 400,000), 850 miles from Moscow. Superimposed over a map of Washington, the factory stretches from the Lincoln Memorial to Capitol Hill, a distance of more than two miles.

▸ The Soviets appear to be developing a space booster with six to seven times the thrust of the U.S. space shuttle.

▸ While the U.S. still leads the Soviet Union by two to seven years in the fields of microelectronics and computer technology, it is quickly losing its edge in electro-optical sensors, guidance and navigation systems, optics and propulsion.

▸ The Soviets will be able to deploy laser weapons against planes and troops by the mid-1980s

Although the report depicts the Kremlin as trying to tip the military balance in its favor, the study lacks any systematic comparison with U.S. or allied forces. The Soviets, for example, have nothing in their naval arsenal to match the U.S. fleet of 13 aircraft carriers. While NATO is outflanked by Soviet tanks, the allies have beefed up their defenses with thousands of antitank missiles. Nevertheless, Gregory Treverton, assistant director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, in London, complimented the report for its exhaustive detail and declared that it "does not overemphasize Soviet power." The Government Printing Office has already run off 36,000 booklets (at a cost of $40,000, with copies available to the public at $6.50 each), and there are plans to translate the booklet into five languages (German, French, Japanese, Italian and Spanish). The study, however, received a negative review from at least one interested reader. TASS, the Soviet news agency, derided the report as just a "colorful booklet" and denounced Weinberger for "gushing a barrage of irresponsible verbiage." —*By James Kelly. Reported by Bruce W. Nelan/Washington*

Pamphlet cover

Collision Course for AWACS

The White House sends a Saudi deal to a surly Congress

There was no compromise. The Senate had fervently hoped for some modification of the Administration's plan to sell five Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) jets to Saudi Arabia, some face-saving deal that would give the U.S. more control over use of the sophisticated radar planes. Yet Ronald Reagan decided last week to place his presidential power and prestige behind a proposal that most members had already declared unacceptable. "I have proposed this sale because it significantly enhances our own vital national security interests in the Middle East," he said at a news conference a few hours after officially submitting the agreement to Congress.* The head-on battle he thus opened will be the first major congressional test of his foreign policy.

Reagan argued that the AWACS sale, one of several topics he touched on at the news conference *(see following story)*, was needed to keep Saudi oilfields safe, and that the planes posed no threat to the security of Israel. Said Reagan: "By contributing to the security and stability of the region, it serves Israel's long-range interests."

The President also broached a sensitive issue: "It is not the business of other nations to make American foreign policy," he said. The nation he meant was Israel, and it was Reagan's strongest attack yet on the lobby that has been highly effective thus far on Israel's behalf in encouraging opposition to the sale. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the organization leading that effort, has been presenting a detailed case against the sale to Senators and Congressmen for the past five months. The lobbying also has a strong grass-roots component, with Jewish leaders in each state who agree with the lobby's aim being asked to contact their Congressmen. For their part, the Saudis have hired a high-priced Washington consultant, Frederick Dutton, but efforts on their behalf have generally been quieter. Says Dutton: "The Saudis take the position that this is a battle for the Administration to fight, not them. If I had my way, I'd have bumper stickers plastered all over town that say REAGAN OR BEGIN."

From the beginning, the Administration has mishandled its own AWACS lobbying effort. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who recognized that the sale might be doomed, suggested to the White House that National Security Adviser Richard Allen be put in charge of it. The recommendation, some insiders claim, was a clever way to cripple further one of Haig's rivals by sloughing off on him a thankless task. In fact, Haig had facetiously suggested that Vice President George Bush, another sometime adversary, might be the best man to take charge of selling the sale.

Some sympathetic White House aides say that Allen, who reports to the President mainly through Counsellor Edwin Meese, is now being unfairly cast as a scapegoat. Most insiders, however, feel that he has managed to make a difficult situation worse by his inept efforts on the Hill. "He had neither the clout nor the brains to pull it off," said one Senate aide.

Allen was, in fact, relegated to the sidelines this week as efforts by Democratic Senator John Glenn to put together a compromise continued. Glenn, who emerged as the Administration's last best hope in making the sale acceptable to his colleagues, had been pushing a plan that would allow American airmen to share control of the AWACS with the Saudis. At the beginning of the week, however, the talks seemed stalled. The White House version of a compromise did not include any of the important written assurances —including a provision to buy back the planes if U.S.-Saudi relations soured —that Glenn said were necessary to win his support. Haig canceled meetings at the U.N. and flew down to Washington to take control. Yet the Secretary of State was reluctant to force the Saudis into new concessions or to include key Senators in the discussions. And the reports Haig received from the new U.S. ambassador in Riyadh, Richard Murphy, who rushed there on Monday, were pessimistic: the Saudis would not accept joint control of the planes. After one last 24-hour postponement in sending the package to the Hill, Haig was forced to present a plan that included only the Administration's own unwritten "understanding" that American instructors would be flying on the planes for at least the next ten years.

Haig tried to put the best face on the deal. In closed session, he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he was "proud" to announce "new" assurances on protection of the planes and access to the data they collect. The Senators were not buying. Later, in an open session, when Haig argued that the sale was a test of U.S. friendship with Saudi Arabia, Republican Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota waved a computer printout listing $38 billion in previous U.S. arms sales to the Saudis. Snapped Boschwitz: "What's the next test?"

Fifty Senators, including Glenn, promptly re-signed a resolution opposing the sale, and they said they had at least six other firm supporters. But even if they can block the transaction, there will be no real victors. As Reagan said in his press conference: "Other countries must not get a perception that we are being unduly influenced one way or the other with regard to foreign policy." And American relations and influence with the Saudis, who will probably end up buying similar surveillance planes from the British, will be strained.

Lamented Glenn: "I honestly appreciate, very fully, Saudi needs and our needs in this area. I'm still hopeful something can be worked out." Reagan, however, is not about to withdraw his plan and negotiate a new one. He has already begun a campaign of persuasion like the one that helped roll over opposition to his tax and budget cuts. "It will be as active and vigorous an effort as anything done in this Administration so far," says Meese. This time, however, it may not work. *—By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Johanna McGeary/Washington*

*The plan will almost surely be defeated in the Democratic-controlled House. The big battle will come in the Senate, where it also seems doomed. To block the sale, both chambers must reject it within 30 days of last week's submission. Amendments are not allowed.

The President Flexes His Muscles

But serious defeats loom ahead on Capitol Hill

The presidential jeans were trim, the snakeskin boots glistened in the Sunday sun and the white knit tennis shirt clung flatteringly to Ronald Reagan's chest. As he chatted with a few friends and reporters on the White House's South Lawn, one newsman complimented him on his flat belly. Having a gym so handy in the White House really helped, said Reagan, adding with a proud grin, "Here, feel these triceps." The reporter gingerly tested Reagan's arm. The muscles were firm. Despite his chest wound and nearly nine months in the Oval Office, Reagan, at 70, looks healthier than he did before his election.

His spirit, too, seems as jaunty as ever. At a White House screening of *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, Reagan drew laughs from his guests with the deprecatory quip: "I tried to get *Bedtime for Bonzo*, but it wasn't available." While plugging his economic policies at another White House gathering, he spotted a teenager in a front row. "There's a young lady," he said, "who's really a pretty good reason for everything that we're doing to see if this country won't be as good to her and her friends her age as it's been to all of us." The implied promise: those painful budget cuts now will bring a brighter tomorrow.

Reagan's bounce and ease were apparent at a White House press conference, the first formal one in nearly four months. If anything, Reagan was almost too relaxed as he began preparations for the session. During a rehearsal at which aides threw tough questions at him, Reagan was asked to explain his farm policy. "I don't know," he answered with a chuckle. "It changes from day to day." Turning serious, Reagan dug into his homework.

Reagan tucks away a letter from Wall Street

When one assistant produced a 318-page stack of regulations, covering 57 categorical grant programs, that the Administration has reduced to six pages applying to nine block grants, Reagan grinned broadly. "Let me see those," he said, his actor's eyes detecting a fine prop. He effectively displayed the contrasting piles of paper at the press conference.

Compared with his tentative and fumbling performance at a meeting with reporters in June, this one went well. Reagan easily fielded the surprisingly soft questions, sometimes reading from prepared answers, and nimbly ducked the few hard ones. His only gaffe came in a spontaneous reply to a reporter who wondered about the security risk in selling AWACS to a potentially unstable Saudi regime. Reagan snapped: "I have to say that Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran." When asked the logical follow-up question on how the U.S. would intervene to prevent any domestic uprising against the Riyadh monarchy, Reagan recovered somewhat, putting the issue in a broader context of the Western world's stake in protecting access to Middle East oil. Said he about Saudi Arabia: "There's no way that we could stand by and see that taken over by anyone that would shut off that oil." Reagan's muzzy statement, implying that the U.S. would defend the Saudi royal family against internal upheaval, underscored his—and the Administration's—continued difficulty in handling foreign affairs. Both the articulation of policy and decision making have been quirky and halting.

Turning to his economic program, Reagan pounced on the fact that Congress had just been forced to raise the federal debt ceiling to a shade more than $1 trillion. He termed it "a monument to the policies of the past that brought it about —policies which as of today are reversed." When asked about Wall Street's well-known skepticism of the Reagan policies, the President gleefully whipped out a letter of support from Securities Industry Association officials.

Reagan exuded confidence that his policies will indeed work, and he vowed not to stray from his economic course. "We will not be swayed from our plan by every changing current, every passing trend or every short-term fluctuation," he declared. Reagan flexed his presidential muscles, holding out the veto as his ultimate weapon. His tough warning: "I will sign no legislation that would bust the budget and violate our commitment to hold down federal spending."

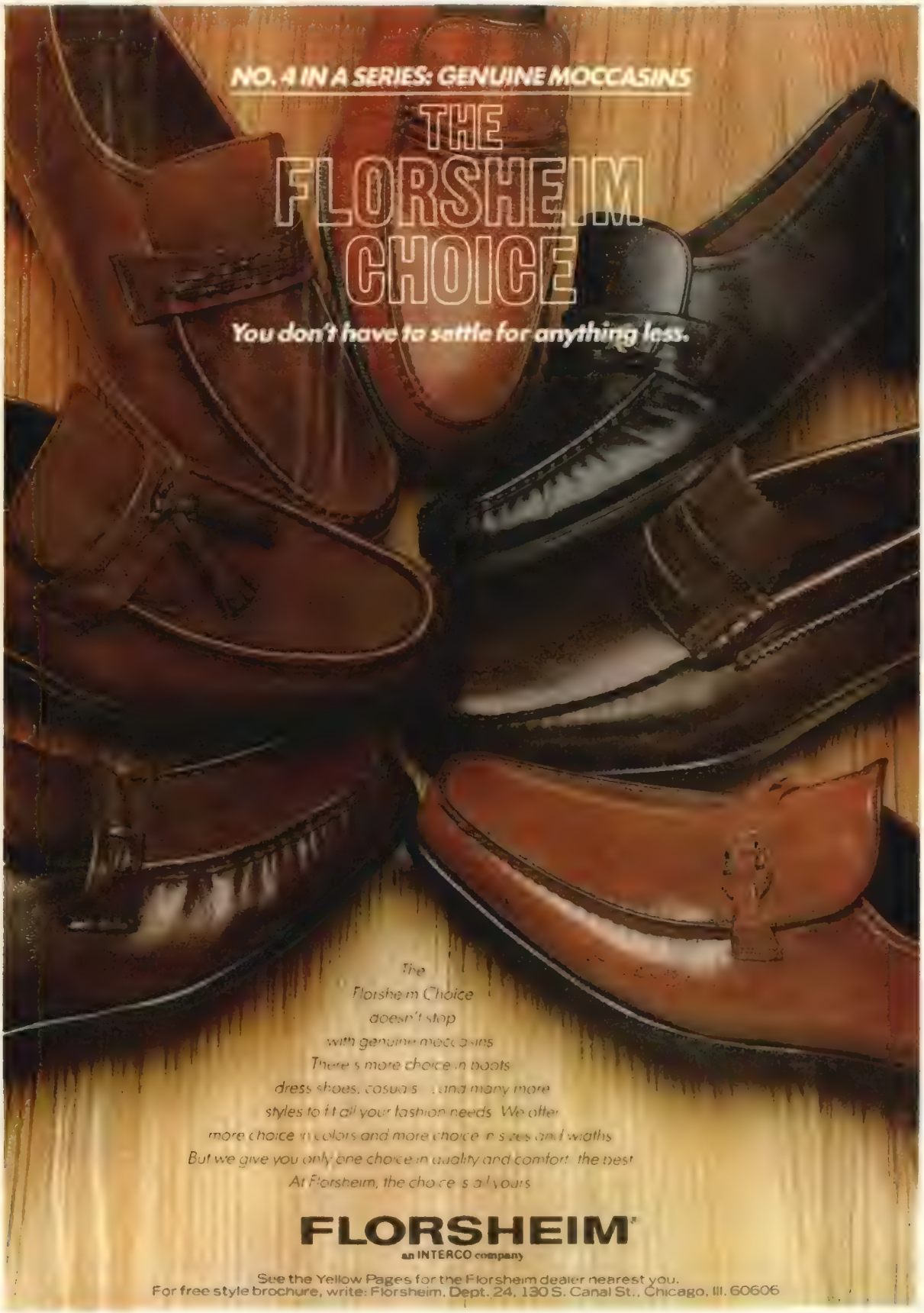
The President is almost obsessively determined to avoid being seen as an inconstant leader who shifts direction even slightly when conditions change. Yet some of Reagan's advisers wonder if he fully realizes that his Administration has just entered a difficult new testing period, when a bit more flexibility will be required. The astonishing early triumphs on

Can START Be Stopped?

In acronym-awed Washington, stirring up the alphabet soup is a serious matter. Thus it has become a critical concern in the capital that White House officials have begun referring to certain ongoing negotiations with the Soviet Union not as a continuation of SALT (which stands for Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) but as START (for Strategic Arms Reduction Talks).

SALT was first coined as an acronym in 1968 by State Department Official Robert Martin. Senior officials at State thought it a bit too cute, but the then trendy CIA and the media picked it up, and the designation stuck. At his first press conference in January, however, President Reagan noted that "SALT means Strategic Arms Limitation, but . . . we should start negotiating on the basis of trying to effect an actual reduction." So National Security Adviser Richard Allen started START. Eugene Rostow, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA, which rhymes roughly with actor, at least in Boston), used the new term at his Senate confirmation hearings and helped give it currency.

Is START a starter? No one knows for sure. Officials at the Department of State —abbreviated as DOS, but *never* called "Doss"—have taken another firm stand against creeping cuteness. They say it will take an official order for them to start saying START. The CIA is keeping its view secret. Nor is there a consensus at Rostow's ACDA, which has a problem of its own—Congress is planning to drop "Disarmament" from its title, so a way must be found to pronounce ACA ("Assa" does not seem right) or have it revert to being simply a set of initials. All of which should be resolved before future high-level arms talks with the Soviets are STARTed.


NO. 4 IN A SERIES: GENUINE MOCCASINS
THE FLORSHEIM CHOICE
You don't have to settle for anything less.
The Florsheim Choice doesn't stop with genuine moccasins. There's more choice in boots, dress shoes, casuals ... and many more styles to fit all your fashion needs. We offer more choice in colors and more choice in sizes and widths. But we give you only one choice in quality and comfort: the best. At Florsheim, the choice is all yours.
FLORSHEIM
an INTERCO company
See the Yellow Pages for the Florsheim dealer nearest you.
For free style brochure, write: Florsheim, Dept. 24, 130 S. Canal St., Chicago, Ill. 60606

THE HIGH FIDELITY SYS
MOST QUALIFIE

Introducing Pioneer Syscom: A totally new kind of high fidelity component system.

If you're in the market for true high fidelity sound, a pre-matched system is a good way to get it. Because it offers the sound quality of separate components and saves you the trouble of having to buy them piece by piece.

But not every pre-matched system is a good one to buy. Many are made by companies known for only one thing. Like speakers. Or turntables.

Syscom, on the other hand, is the high fidelity system built by the people who are famous for ever thing that goes into one. Pioneer. In fact, today Pione is the leading maker of virtually every kind of high fidelity component.

What's more, Syscom's components aren't merel

For the name of the Pioneer Syscom dealer nearest you, call 800-447-2882 (In Illinois 800-322-4400). Digital tim

matched. They're built for each other by Pioneer audio engineers. This maximizes the system's performance and results in sound quality often not even found in systems costing twice as much.

There's a wide variety of Pioneer Syscom groups available in vertical and horizontal arrangements. One of them is perfectly suited to the way you live.

So why would you even consider buying a high fidelity system from a manufacturer who knows how to build *some* of the components, now that you can buy one from the people who've perfected them all. Pioneer.

PIONEER®
We bring it back alive.

equalizer, headphone, microphone optional. ©1981 U.S. Pioneer Electronics Corp., 85 Oxford Drive, Moonachie, N.J. 07074

THREE GOOD RE
IS THE ONE PLACE

Nobody offers a wider selection of wagon-type vehicles than Chevrolet. Like diesel and gasoline power. Front-wheel, four-wheel and two-wheel drive. Room for five and up to twelve. Luxury and just plain good looks. Chevy's got it all.

Cavalier: Chevy's newest wagon. With over 43 standard features, a 1.8 Liter gasoline engine, front-wheel drive and more load space than most other small station wagons.

Malibu Classic: one smart mid-size wagon. Room for six, new styling and bundles of cargo space. A gutsy gasoline V6 is standard with diesel power optional.

Caprice Classic: full-size wagon luxury. Upper-leve

Chevy makes

ASONS WHY CHEVY TO GO FOR WAGONS.

comfort, room and ride. Plus an available 5.7 Liter Diesel (required in California).

If you need more wagon, maybe you need a "Superwagon." Consider Chevy Suburban. An impressive people-mover and trailer-tower. In either 4WD or 2WD and with the new 6.2 Liter Diesel model, it's an attractive offering. Or consider Chevy Sportvan with seating for five, eight or twelve (depending on the model).

Some Chevrolets are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details.

hevrolet

ood things happen

Your jeweler can show you other exciting trends in men's diamonds starting at about $400. The ring shown is one piece for about $2,450.
Prices may change substantially due to differences in diamond quality and market conditions.

A diamond is forever. De Beers

tax and budget policies, ironically, may make any defeats on Capitol Hill look worse than they really are. Almost certainly, some are imminent.

The sale of AWACS-equipped planes to Saudi Arabia looks all but doomed, as the Republican-controlled Senate seems ready to join the Democratic House in blocking the package. Members of Congress are unhappy about trying to cut the additional $13 billion from the budget that Reagan has demanded for the new fiscal year. Even House Republican Leader Robert Michel fears that Congress may only be able to chop another $10 billion. And more of this will probably come out of the increase in the defense budget than the $2 billion in rollbacks that Reagan has advocated. Indeed, Democrats in Congress are relishing the fratricide among Republicans as the new battles loom. Signaling his beleaguered troops to lie low and let the Republicans fight it out, House Speaker Tip O'Neill passed the word: "Don't block the view."

In short, the Administration no longer has the luxury of being able to take issues one at a time. Thus there are questions in Washington about whether Reagan and his staff are ready to handle several urgent problems simultaneously. The President relies heavily on the guidance of his top-level troika of Edwin Meese, James Baker and Michael Deaver, whose talents and energies are already stretched dangerously thin. It is rare these days for all three to sit in on major policy discussions. In parceling out their responsibilities, some of the cohesion that made the troika seem so effective earlier has been lost. Key decisions have been allowed to drift or, worse, bungled, as AWACS was. The national security and domestic policy operations in the White House, reporting to Presidential Counsellor Meese, have not been functioning effectively.

While there is not yet a crisis in White House management, the current strains seem likely to grow. Moreover, there is growing disarray at middle levels of Reagan's economic team. While the "economic troika" of OMB Director David Stockman, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan and Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Murray Weidenbaum seems to be at least publicly in tune, there is a sharp split between the supply-side purists and more monetarist advocates working under it. They disagree on the validity of the Administration's rosy economic forecasts and on whether Reagan's recently enacted tax cuts should be carried out in full. So far those internal fights have not bubbled up into any public shifting of Reagan's economic course. Nevertheless, the tensions are not a good omen as the Reagan Administration faces new and more diverse challenges. *—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Douglas Brew/Washington*

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

A Modest Millionaire

The political harping, and press posturing, that Ronald Reagan is extravagant, self-indulgent and acquisitive is a bad rap. True, he likes to run with California millionaires. He is one himself. But, personally, Reagan is quite a different type.

His rich-man image ballooned when he accepted four pairs of $1,000 cowboy boots with gold Presidential Seals. Then the White House announced the purchase (with private donations) of 4,372 pieces of china for $209,508, or about $1,000 a place setting. For politicians, image is often everything. Just when a President is about to cut back on school lunches is not the time to buy teacups and start wearing cowboy boots made of calf and ostrich hide.

Yet fair is fair. Reagan may be worth $3 million or $4 million, but Lyndon Johnson, John Kennedy, Jimmy Carter and Richard Nixon were millionaires too. Of the past seven Presidents, ranked by wealth and indulgence, Reagan would be next to the bottom, tied with Carter. Jerry Ford would be low man. At the top of the acquisitive scale would be L.B.J. by several lengths. Estimates of his fortune varied from $3.5 million to $20 million. He collected land, cattle, boots, cars, airstrips, telephones, helicopters and anything else around—with his money or the taxpayers'. It sometimes didn't seem to matter.

A test piece of Nancy's new china

Kennedy had tastes that were quiet, but proportionate to his estimated $10 million fortune and the $400 million family holdings that backed it up. He liked exclusive beach houses, boats and planes. Nixon had homes in San Clemente and Key Biscayne, improvements on which cost the taxpayers huge sums. Dwight Eisenhower had his magnificent Gettysburg farm fixed up and stocked by admirers.

Next to the Johnson abode on a 2,000-acre spread near Austin, Reagan's house on his 688-acre California ranch looks like a log cabin ("It is," protests Nancy). No central heat. No wine cellar. Two bedrooms. Three cattle. Six horses. Three McCulloch chain saws (for cutting firewood). One old Jeep. One decrepit tractor. (When a John Deere executive saw Reagan's tractor, he dispatched a salesman to make a deal. The President was told that for $58,000 and his old model, he could get the tractor of his dreams. "Forget it," Reagan answered.)

This President is not a dedicated collector. He owns one small Grandma Moses painting, one Charles Russell bronze statue of a boxer (a gift) and several contemporary western artworks. His modest gun collection came from gifts. He has no yacht—just a 12-ft. canoe, the *Truluv*. His stereo rig would be spurned by the average twelve-year-old. The Corum $20-gold-piece watch he sports is a ten-year-old gift from friends. A couple of years ago, he and Nancy made a pact for a mutual Christmas gift, a power log splitter.

Reagan looks spiffy in public appearances, but his tailor, Frank Mariani of Beverly Hills, insists that he sometimes wears his suits (now $1,000 each) for twelve years. Aide Mike Deaver claims that Reagan's advisers had to pry him out of a 35-year-old topcoat when he first came east. A friend spotted him wearing a new tie recently and asked about it. Reagan said that he knew the narrow widths would come back in style if he kept his old ties long enough.

When Reagan was Governor of California, he ignored the political boodle that lay all around for the taking, even the booze. The President dotes on macaroni and cheese, not quail. If left alone, he eats hamburger, or bacon and eggs

Make no mistake. Reagan likes to go first class, but not raised to the tenth power. "He does not crave," says Nancy Reynolds, a former aide. "The only time I saw him have a bad case of the wants was when he looked at the ranch he has now. He loved it the moment he saw it." Meanwhile, think again about that new china the President and Nancy are getting for the White House. In 1968 the Johnsons (also with private money) purchased 2,200 pieces of china for $80,000, which in today's dollars is $210,000. The Reagans got a steal.

Is He Crazy About Her?

A plea of insanity, a cry for love

By any standard of common sense, it was an insane act: shooting a President to win the affections of a movie star. The legal definition of madness, however, is a bit more exacting (*see* LAW) Last week lawyers for John Hinckley, 26, the man who wounded President Reagan and three others on March 30 outside the Washington Hilton Hotel, declared in a court brief that they will argue Hinckley's innocence by reason of insanity. In a case where the facts of the crime are so starkly clear—the defense admits to the shooting—an insanity plea may be Hinckley's only chance for acquittal.

As if to demonstrate the slippery grip on reality his lawyers will claim for him, Hinckley has written a letter to TIME Washington Correspondent Evan Thomas elaborating on his one-sided courtship of Actress Jodie Foster, 18 (*see box*). Hinckley had written TIME several weeks

Suspect John Hinckley in custody

earlier offering to answer any 20 questions the magazine posed. Thomas submitted the questions—on such subjects as Hinckley's childhood, his travels before the shooting and his friends—but Hinckley chose to address only his feelings about Foster. Atop the letter, Hinckley scrawled the title, The Lovesick Assassin.

In preliminary documents submitted to Federal District Court Judge Barrington Parker, Hinckley's attorneys asked that their client's case be heard by two separate juries, one to make the *pro forma* determination that Hinckley did indeed shoot Reagan, the other to make the critical judgment about his sanity. Hinckley's lawyers fear that once jurors see videotapes of the shooting and hear exhaustive FBI testimony about Hinckley's elaborate transcontinental drifting in the months that preceded the act, they would be incapable of reaching a verdict dispassionately on the question of his mental state. "Understandably," the attorneys contend in their brief, "there will be great rage and anger directed at Mr. Hinckley." The best guess of lawyers familiar with the case is that Judge Parker will rule in favor of a conventional, single-jury trial.

That proceeding will not begin before December. Once it is under way, the insanity defense will likely require that Hinckley's lawyers—members of the high-powered Washington firm of Williams and Connolly, home of Superlawyer Edward Bennett Williams—introduce as evidence every token of his preoccupation with Foster. A new addition to that curious lore surfaced last week, when authorities leaked a transcript of tape recordings, made by Hinckley last winter, of two telephone conversations he had with Foster. The calls, to the actress's Yale University dormitory in New Haven, were not acknowledged by her until last week. Says Foster: "It's not anything I can talk about."

The tapes depict Hinckley as a persistent and pathetic suitor. As he tells Foster in the first call, by way of introduction: "This is the person that's been leaving notes in your mail box for two days." At one point during the conversations, Foster's freshmen roommates giggled in the

Actress Jodie Foster at Yale

background. "They're laughing at you," she said to Hinckley, and to the girls in an aside: "I should tell him I am sitting here with a knife." Hinckley heard the remark. "Well," he assured her, "I'm not dangerous, I promise you that."

The tapes, recovered from Hinckley's Washington hotel room the day he shot the President, consist largely of requests that she permit more calls. Hinckley: "Can I call tomorrow night?" Foster: "That's fine." Hinckley: "Will you be in?" Foster: "Maybe." Hinckley: "Will you talk?" Foster: "Sure." Hinckley: "Well, you just changed your mind, see?"

Later, Foster grew impatient with the pestering. "Seriously," she said, "this isn't fair. Do me a favor and don't call back. All right?"

"How about tomorrow?" Hinckley pleaded.

"Oh, God. Oh, seriously. This is really starting to bother me. Do you mind if I hang up?"

"Jodie, please." ■

Mr. Thomas,

The most important thing in my life is Jodie Foster's love and admiration. If I can't have them, neither can anybody else. We are a historical couple, like Napoleon and Josephine, and a romantic couple like Romeo and Juliet.

I first saw Jodie in the movie *Taxi Driver*, which was the summer of 1976. I saw her over and over and over again over the next five years. I saw all of her movies and most of her TV appearances. My devotion for Jodie became an obsession in the summer of 1980 when I found out she would be attending Yale University in the fall of '80. The magazines like to call my love an erotomanic obsession. I don't even know what that means. All I know is that I was her number one fan and wanted to make sure that she knew it too. She was my first real love. This sounds like something out of *True Confessions*.

From head to toe, every square inch of Jodie is what attracts me. She reached her peak when she was twelve and then she reached a second peak following March 30, '81. Jodie's got the look I crave. What else can I say? It drives me crazy just looking at some of her photographs. Her voice and smile put stars in my eyes and send shivers everywhere. I only hope Yale doesn't destroy Jodie. Four years at that place is enough to ravage anyone. I tried to rescue her once, and it looks like I may have to do it again.

I gave Jodie approximately 100 poems and letters in the fall and winter of '80-'81, all of them signed. She probably read half of them. Also I talked to her on the phone a few times. Of course, on March 30 I made my love known to her in my own unique way.

She did not respond at all prior to March 30. I blame her and I don't blame her. After March 30, I finally got a response out of her. It's now six months later, and she's playing it cool again. I can't take much more of this silent treatment.

The ultimate expression of my love would be to take her away from Yale and the world permanently. Further elaboration is not necessary. Just stay tuned.

Thank you,

John Hinckley Jr.

Miami's Agony

South Florida is swamped by refugee needs—and violence

In the spring of 1980, when thousands of Cubans were mobbing the port city of Mariel for their helter-skelter exodus to the shores of Florida, President Fidel Castro denounced the emigrants as *escoria* (scum). As if to ensure that he was at least partly correct, Castro added some convicts and mental patients to the Mariel horde. Indeed, of the 125,000 "Marielitos" who landed in Florida, 1,709 have been jailed by federal authorities as undesirables, and 587 more have been locked up until they can find sponsors. Nearly all the rest have settled in Dade County, which includes Miami. The great majority of Marielitos are peaceful and eager for work. But a number of hardcore criminals—true *escoria* who slipped through the screening process—have brought a plague of murder, rape and robbery on south Florida.

Miami may soon become the violent crime capital of the nation, with rates for major crimes at least doubling since 1979. In the past eleven months 66 refugees have been arrested in Miami for homicide; an additional 72 of their own number have been murdered. Florida Governor Bob Graham claims that half of all violent crimes in Miami today are committed by Marielitos and that the refugees represent 20% to 30% of the city's jail population.

The crimes Marielitos commit are sometimes remarkable for their viciousness. Says Lieut. Robert Murphy, head of the Miami police department's homicide unit: "One of them killed two victims, one with a lead pipe, the other by stomping him to death with his feet. Marielitos shot at an eleven-year-old boy simply because he was a witness to a robbery. These criminals have a ruthlessness without any parallel that I've ever seen." The refugees who go wrong tend to be slight young men, gaunt and hollow-eyed, who dress in sneakers, jeans and T shirts. Many wear tattoos advertising their criminal specialties: *Madre* engraved on a small heart for a hit man, a falling star for a kidnapper. Dade County Medical Examiner Joe Davis last month denounced Marielito murderers on a local TV show: "These guys are not even human. They're animals. Not even animals. That's an insult to the animal kingdom." The murder boom has filled existing morgue space; Davis rented a refrigerated hamburger van to accommodate the overflow.

Miami's 500,000 earlier Cuban immigrants, most of whom are now well assimilated, are growing increasingly hostile to the new arrivals. The term Marielito itself has become a fighting word in "Little Havana," the teeming, prosperous Cuban community in Miami; there are bumper stickers proclaiming NO ME DIGAS MARIELITO (Don't Call Me a Marielito). Says Bernardo Benes, a Cuban-émigré banker: "When I see Marielitos, I see numbers on them like the Jews in the concentration camps. There is a terrible lack of compassion for these people."

While police struggle to contain the crime wave, the Miami area's social services are being strained to the breaking point by just trying to take care of law-abiding Marielitos, most of whom are desperately poor. The federal spending cuts are certain to make the situation even worse. Some 16,000 refugee children have flooded Dade County schools since the Mariel exodus, requiring a $32 million addition to the education budget. Welfare rolls have increased by a third. Yet as a consequence of the federal cuts, 139 of the 176 county welfare caseworkers now ministering to the Marielitos will be laid off or transferred. Miami's Jackson Memorial Hospital has accumulated $6 million in bills for refugee treatment, but the cutbacks mean that almost none of it will

Policeman with murdered Miamian

"We are sitting on a time bomb."

be reimbursed. Counseling programs and English classes are imperiled as well. Governor Graham estimates that in the fiscal year that began last week, Dade County will have a shortfall of $30 million from reductions in federal refugee aid. Beginning next April, the county will lose an additional $3.5 million a month when special federal welfare payments to 26,000 Marielitos end. Says Graham: "The Marielitos are a classic national responsibility. This is reverse federalism, with the Federal Government trying to abdicate its constitutional responsibility."

Florida officials have been lobbying in Washington for more federal help with the refugee influx, so far without success. One thing is certain: the diminished aid can only exacerbate the suffering and frustration of the Marielitos—and the fears of all Miamians. Says a Florida welfare official: "Riots, kids forming street gangs, drugs, increased crime, you name it. We are sitting on a time bomb." ■

Oklahoma!

Where the graft comes sweepin' down the plain

Humorist Will Rogers, Oklahoma's favorite son, once joshed a former U.S. Treasury Secretary: "Mac, knowing you was manager of Uncle Sam's Treasury so long, I thought you'd be well heeled." Rogers' homespun irreverence about official greed may be timeless, but Oklahomans today are not laughing. A three-year federal investigation of the state's elected officials has found that graft is routine and nearly ubiquitous in Oklahoma county government, and has added as much as $10 million a year to the state's road-maintenance costs. Only one county commissioner and one businessman have finished their trials so far (both were convicted) and another pleaded *nolo contendere*. But prosecutors say they have evidence against more than 250 people —104 of whom have agreed to plead guilty —and that nearly all of the state's 77 counties are represented. Fifty-one of the 231 current county commissioners have resigned, and perhaps 100 more face charges. The probe has spread to Texas, where six officials have already admitted guilt and a seventh was convicted. Says Assistant U.S. Attorney William Price: "It certainly is the largest investigation of public corruption in terms of sheer numbers in the nation's history."

The frauds involved county purchases of construction equipment and materials by the commissioners. Some payoffs were straightforward "commissions" of 10%. Others were bills, either outrageously padded or for nonexistent equipment. One 28-year-old rock-crushing machine worth $5,000, for instance, was bought for $42,500, and a $14,000 used road grader was leased for one year for $27,500.

The FBI and the IRS cracked the case by first amassing evidence against bribe-paying contractors. Two of the contractors—Lumber Mill Owner Dorothy Griffin and Building Materials Salesman Guy Moore—were persuaded to help investigators catch fellow suppliers and the recipients of their largesse. Scores of transactions—conducted in pickup trucks and county maintenance barns—were tape-recorded. Moore claims that in 28 years of business, he arranged, on the average, more than one bribe every working day.

Cecil Parker, a former commissioner who will plead guilty, speaks of the corruption with a candor bordering on nonchalance. "This thing's been happening since they made county commissioners," says Parker, who at 76 is two years older than the state of Oklahoma. "Sure I took kickbacks. I never asked a man for it. They always gave it to me." Says Betty Eisenhour, who as clerk of Canadian County was an unwitting intermediary for the graft: "I always wondered why I was paying middlemen. Now I know. The commissioners were good old boys, but just between you and me, they were thieves." ■

One of the most visible entitlements: the school lunch program, which subsidizes meals like these, in Somerville, Me.

COVER STORY

Backing Down on Benefits

The dilemma: how to cut handouts but not hurt the truly needy

"On this day," said Ronald Reagan at the opening of his press conference last Thursday, "our economic recovery program begins." With the start of the 1982 fiscal year on Oct. 1, some $35 billion in budget cuts enacted by Congress last summer took effect. Social programs that had been expanding rapidly for decades began to shrink, and the nation embarked, at least for a time, on a different economic and philosophic course.

No one can yet calculate either the social or political consequences of the cuts or know how much they will hurt the "truly needy," who the President insists will still be protected by a "social safety net." Yet the new standards of eligibility that go along with the budget slashes make it inevitable that hundreds of thousands of people will be lopped off welfare and food stamp rolls. Federal subsidies for school lunch programs will be sharply reduced. Government-backed unemployment compensation will generally be paid out only for 26 weeks instead of 39.

There are troublesome paradoxes in these slashes, which Reagan sees as essential to "reduce inflation and reward the spirit of liberty and enterprise that were responsible for our nation's economic might." The cuts are deep enough to cause genu pain for many citizens, yet not sufficient to restrain the out control growth of federal spending. To do that will require a thinking of some basic questions about democratic governm How far can a compassionate society, which this nation is must remain, go in protecting its citizens against the vicissitu of life without conferring unwarranted benefits on people wh not need them and placing an unacceptable financial burde the great majority of its citizens? How can it equably slim d the innumerable payments and handouts that its citizens h been encouraged to consider, over time, as their right?

Those questions are raised by the phenomenal growth of titlement" programs, including welfare, food stamps, sc lunches, unemployment compensation and a congeries of ers, the biggest by far being Social Security. Their commo ement is that they provide eligible recipients with guaran benefits. Once a citizen meets certain standards—falling be a specified income level, losing a job, simply turning 65 in case of Social Security—he or she qualifies for a pension, a meal, a low-interest college loan or whatever it is that by

Beneficiaries of lawmakers' cheap-meals-for-everybody policy: 27 million children, including those, above, in Gary, Ind., and east Los Angeles

must be granted, regardless of the cost to the society as a whole.

Most of America's social programs started off modestly, and all with the most laudable of intentions. They were then expanded by successive Administrations and Congresses to reward many more people far more generously than their founders ever dreamed. The most spectacular growth took place in the 1970s, when many of the entitlement programs were keyed to the consumer price index; benefits increased along with inflation.

Between 1970 and fiscal 1981, the cost of living rose 138%, yet in that same period federal spending on entitlement programs more than quadrupled, from $70 billion to $295 billion. Despite the initial scaling down of benefit formulas that Reagan has persuaded Congress to enact in some programs, entitlement expenditures are scheduled to jump a startling $50 billion, the biggest increase ever, in the fiscal year just begun. Moreover, under present law, they will continue to rise steeply in future years. Combined with Reagan's deep multiyear tax cuts and his expensive military buildup, the rise in entitlements could well drown the President's pledge to balance the budget by fiscal 1984 in a tide of red ink. If that happens, inflation will rage on, the job-creating economic expansion that the President counts on will not start, and all the sacrifice imposed by the early rounds of budget cuts will have been in vain.

Crowded lunch counter at Grosse Pointe North High School in Michigan

Tempting children of the wealthy away from junk food addiction

There is little question that for the health of society, the growth of entitlements must be slowed—especially since the Administration and Congress are running out of budget-cutting alternatives. Entitlements this year will account for nearly 48% of all federal spending, up from 35% in 1970 and 22% in 1956. Military outlays and such truly "uncontrollable" expenditures as interest on the national debt take roughly another 25%. That leaves barely a quarter of the budget represented by spending that is easiest to reduce: the civilian programs, such as grants for mass transportation and rural electrification, for which Congress still makes annual appropriations. Reagan already has persuaded the legislators to chop many of those programs to the bone.

But any attempt to cut back on entitlements provokes a public—hence political—eruption of Mount St. Helens dimensions, as illustrated last month by the uproar over the Agriculture Department's suggestion to schools of how they might serve smaller portions to children getting federally subsidized meals and count catsup as a vegetable *(see box)*. The proposed guidelines were hastily withdrawn, but only after opponents had made the most of an opportunity to portray Reagan as a Dickensian

Luncheon scene at Pine Mountain School near Kennesaw, Ga.: coded tickets to identify the poor

hard-heart, snatching French fries from the mouths of babes

The fracas was especially unfortunate because it distracted public attention from the genuine difficulties of the school lunch program, which are many. It is far from the biggest of the entitlements: the $3.1 billion shelled out by Washington to subsidize school lunches in fiscal 1980 was dwarfed by the $100 billion outlay that year for Social Security pensions. But the school lunch program, which has done much to raise the nation's nutritional levels, understandably arouses strong public emotions. In so doing, it provides an excellent case study of how entitlements start, how they grow, how waste and bureaucracy can encrust them, and how difficult it is to reduce them, especially without hurting the "truly needy."

The first school lunch program that Government researchers have been able to track down was started in 1790 in Munich. An American expatriate named Benjamin Thompson founded a Poor People's Institute that put unemployed adults to work making clothing for the Bavarian army; their children were required to work part time too, in return for which they were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, and served a free meal of potato soup, barley and peas. In 1865, French Novelist Victor Hugo, while in exile on the Channel island of Guernsey, put up the money out of his own pocket to provide hot lunches at a local school. His example inspired French philanthropists to found the Society for People's Kitchens in the Public Schools six years later. In 1905 the British Parliament, worried because three of every five potential recruits for the Boer War a few years earlier had flunked physical exams, many because they were ill nourished, passed a Provision of Meals Act making cheap school lunches a national responsibility.

In the U.S., the Children's Aid Society of New York began serving meals to vocational school students as early as 1853. But the initial spur to widespread programs came from two influential books: *Poverty* by Robert Hunter, published in 1904, and *Bitter Cry of the Children* by John Spargo, which came out two years later. They voiced what is still the concept behind all school food programs: it makes no sense to provide free education to children if they do not get enough food to benefit from the teaching. "Learning is difficult," wrote Hunter, "because hungry stomachs and languid bodies and thin blo are not able to feed the brain . . . If it is a matter of principle democratic America that every child shall be given a certa amount of instruction, let us render it possible for them receive it."

Lunch programs, run by boards of education or pare teacher associations with financial aid from private charities city governments, had been set up in 76,000 schools by 1931. that point, the Great Depression threatened to wipe them o only the Federal Government had the resources to rescue the Under President Herbert Hoover, the Reconstruction Finan Corp., which was started primarily to aid business, made a f small loans to towns in Missouri, enabling them to contin lunch programs that were on the verge of collapse. Franklin Ro sevelt's New Deal agencies supplied money and workers to lun programs in other states as an emergency relief measure; 1935 Congress authorized the Agriculture Department to ch in food, partly as a way of getting rid of the surplus farm pro ucts that the Government was beginning to purchase in orc to prop up prices. By 1942, workers, paid in part by the Wo Progress Administration, were serving meals to 6 million ch dren a day, about one-fourth of all childr then in school.

World War II ended the need for W make-work projects. Roosevelt in 1943 kill the WPA, but Congress appropriated $50 m lion that year to keep the school lunch p gram going. Among other motivations, Co gress was shocked by the malnourished st of many youths drafted to fight the war. 1946 the legislators decided to make t school lunch program permanent. The N tional School Lunch Act, passed that ye opened with these words: "It is hereby d clared to be the policy of Congress, as a n tional security measure, to safeguard t health and well-being of the nation's ch dren and to encourage the consumption nutritious agricultural commodities" by sisting in the "maintenance, operation a expansion of nonprofit school lunch p grams." The act provided both cash and co modity assistance to schools that wished serve lunches at or below cost to childr whose parents were unable to pay full pri and set minimum nutritional standards

Green beans are leftovers for the bin

Foods that many do not get at home

the meals. The cost of the program to the Federal Government in its first full year of operation: $68 million.

The program expanded steadily through the 1950s and '60s, as Congress made the benefit formulas more generous and more school districts signed up for the subsidies. By 1967 the Government was providing $338 million in subsidies for the feeding of 18.9 million schoolchildren, 37% of the school population. Nonetheless, a feeling grew that much more could, and should, be done. A coalition of women's groups estimated that 4 million of the 6 million children from families with incomes of $2,000 or less were not getting free or reduced-price meals, partly because local school districts set wildly differing eligibility standards. The nation was dismayed by repeated disclosures of continuing hunger and even starvation in parts of the country. Years of rapid noninflationary economic growth encouraged the belief that America could wipe out all social problems by determined expansion of Government assistance.

Enter Richard Nixon, attuned to the public mood. In language that could have been taken from any liberal Democratic manifesto, Nixon proclaimed: "Something very like the honor of American democracy is at issue. America has come to the aid of one starving people after another. But the moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time." At his behest, Congress in 1970 passed amendments to the National School Lunch Act that gave the program its current structure.

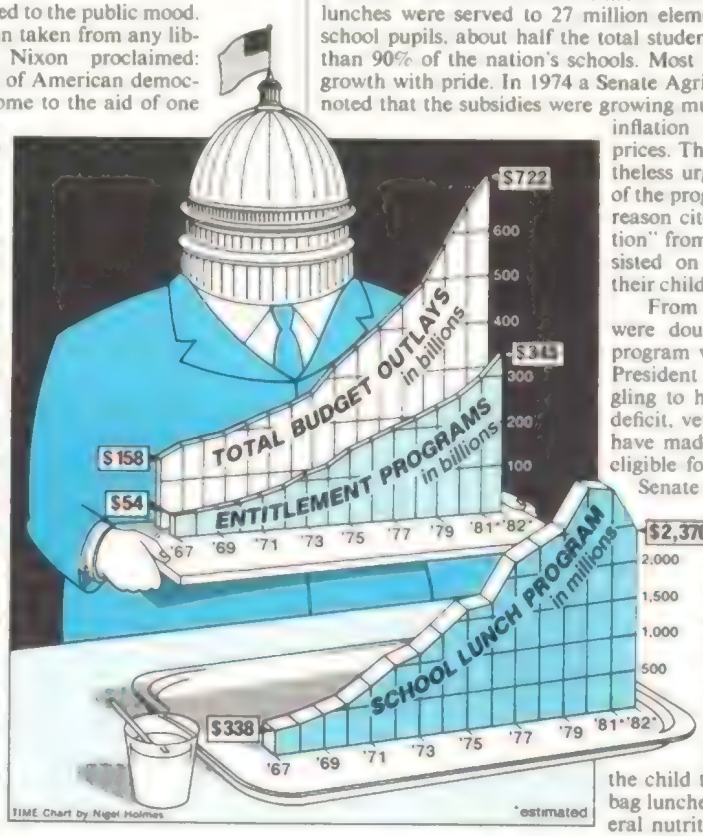
The 1970 amendments set federal income standards for children receiving free and cheap lunches, converting the school lunch program into an entitlement. School districts that joined were to serve free lunches to all children from families with incomes at or below the federally defined poverty line, and charge a maximum of 20¢—a figure that did not change (to 40¢) until the start of the present school year last month—for lunches eaten by students whose families earned up to 25% more than that.

The standards were later raised to 125% and 195% of poverty; last year a family income of $10,270 or less qualified a student for a free meal, and an income of $15,490 for a 20¢ one.

Still more ambitiously, the 1970 amendments provided funds on a sliding scale that enabled—indeed, required—schools to offer subsidized meals to all children. Schools last year got $1.13 from Uncle Sam for each free lunch they served; 93¢ for each "reduced-price" lunch; and 29½¢ for each "full-price" lunch, for which students pay anywhere from 55¢ to $1.20. In all cases, the food actually costs more to prepare. Schools that collect the subsidy may, if they wish, also offer snacks, ice cream and à la carte items at truly "full" prices, but all pupils choosing the standard meal stand in the same line for the same food. Only school personnel are supposed to know, from an inconspicuous printed code, how much, if anything, students have paid for their meal tickets. (Inevitably, in many schools the student grapevine finds out anyway.)

The basic reason for the subsidized-meal-for-everybody policy is that lawmakers thought that the schools could not earn enough to meet their share of the cost of providing free or bargain-rate meals to the needy unless they enticed into the lunchroom many middle-class or affluent children who would pay somewhat higher, though still subsidized, prices. But other influences were also at work. After all, reasoned some lawmakers, if left to their own eating habits, the children of the wealthy may become addicted to junk food; what better way to teach them good nutrition than to tempt them by low prices to eat a well-balanced lunch? That rationale, observes the deputy superintendent of one affluent Michigan school district, is part of a longtime trend to view the schools as social agencies. Says the educator: "We began just teaching them how to read and write. Then came athletic programs because parents couldn't be bothered to teach their kids how to run and jump. Now we are teaching them how to drive cars and setting up sex-education programs to teach them how to make love."

The 1970 changes led to an enormous expansion of the school lunch program. Over the next ten years, federal subsidies for school lunches multiplied more than five times, from $576 million in 1970 to $3.1 billion in fiscal 1980. Last year, subsidized lunches were served to 27 million elementary and secondary school pupils, about half the total student population, in more than 90% of the nation's schools. Most politicians viewed the growth with pride. In 1974 a Senate Agriculture Subcommittee noted that the subsidies were growing much more rapidly than inflation was driving up food prices. The subcommittee nonetheless urged further expansion of the program. One astonishing reason cited: to meet "competition" from mothers who still insisted on packing lunches for their children.



From time to time, there were doubts about where the program was heading. In 1975, President Gerald Ford, struggling to hold down the federal deficit, vetoed a bill that would have made even more children eligible for 20¢ lunches. In the Senate debate that followed, Maryland Republican Charles McC. Mathias wondered whether "we are not witnessing, if not encouraging, the slow demise of yet another American tradition: the brown bag. Perhaps we are beholding yet another break in the chain that links the child to the home." Brown-bag lunches might not meet federal nutrition standards, he observed, "but I do know that those brown bags and those lunch pails symbolized parental love and responsibility." Nonetheless, Mathias, echoing the dilemma that Congress faced, voted with the majority to override Ford's veto. As he explained: "No humane person wants to see one single child in America go hungry."

True enough, but the school program has now grown to the point where it benefits students who are in little danger of starving, as well as those who live precariously on the lower edge of society. Some examples:

▶ At North High School in the affluent Detroit suburb of Grosse Pointe, Mich., the clean, airy dining room looks out on a parking lot filled with students' Volkswagens, Hondas and even one classic E-type Jaguar. At 11:30 a.m., the room starts to fill with the first of three lunchtime shifts. But about half of North High's 1,600 students drive to fast-food restaurants, go home or bring their own lunches; of the remainder, 70% pass up the standard federally subsidized lunch to buy à la carte items—90¢ hamburgers, $1.15 bacon, lettuce and tomato sandwiches, 65¢ side or-

ders of French fries. About 240 students choose the so-called reimbursable lunch each day, paying $1.20 for a choice of sandwich or cheeseburger with potatoes and another vegetable or, if they prefer, fruit. Only ten students get that $1.20 lunch free or at a reduced price; most of the well-fed students look on it as an occasional variation in their usual fare. Says Karen Hagg, 18: "I buy lunch here a couple of times a week if I can afford it on my allowance. Otherwise I bring food from home."

To subsidize meals for these students, the Federal Government last year shelled out $94,000 to the Grosse Pointe district. Some cheating was involved. The school board knows that more than a few parents lied about family income or exaggerated the number of their dependents in order to qualify for free or reduced-price lunches. Lacking the staff to check up on claimants, Grosse Pointe schools found it cheaper to take parents at their word and dish out the low-cost meals.

▸ At Lakeside High in the suburbs of Atlanta, the meals are heavily influenced by what surplus commodities the Government makes available: on one day last week students had a choice of pizza, with a crust made from commodity flour and topped with commodity ground beef and commodity mozzarella cheese, or commodity pork made into barbecue sandwiches. The school charges 75¢ for a surprisingly tasty meal that costs $1.25 to prepare, and the low price tempts some 750 of the school's 1,350 students to buy it. Only 45 get the meal free or at a reduced price, and everybody assumes that these are blacks bused in from south De Kalb, a nearby, less affluent area. For most well-off students, the cheap meals—which, including the value of commodity foods, cost U.S. taxpayers $33,750 last year—are a bargain. Charlie Gilbert, a tall, blond eleventh-grader, brings a lunch from home and buys the 75¢ meal besides. "I have football practice from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.," he ex-

A Chance to Feast on Reagan

The President called it at one point possible "bureaucratic sabotage." Chief Budget Cutter David Stockman conceded that Administration officials were left "with egg on their face." Both men were referring to proposed new regulations, announced by the Agriculture Department, for school lunch programs that would have classified catsup as a vegetable. The resulting furor forced the Administration into a hasty and embarrassing announcement that the rules were being recalled for redrafting. Even so, they remain in many minds a symbol of what critics see as the Reagan team's callous indifference to the poor.

The foul-up had its beginnings in mid-August. In the Budget Reconciliation Act, Congress charged the USDA with proposing changes in the school lunch regulations that would have reduced the cost of producing meals and partially offset the cuts in federal subsidies. A USDA task force had already been set up to address the question of "meal patterns," bureaucratese for guidelines that determine the permissible size and nutritional quality of lunches. In three weeks, the new USDA meal proposals were rushed through the agency, hastily given the green light by Stockman's Office of Management and Budget, and made public on the eve of the long Labor Day weekend. In essence, the new regulations would have saved local school authorities $300 million by instituting several key changes. Among them: offering only three main types of lunches (preschool, elementary and secondary) instead of five; reducing the minimum allowable size of a meal; lowering the minimum nutritional requirement; and allowing certain alternatives to meat and vegetables. Although catsup was not mentioned by name, the regulations did state that a catsup-like concentrate would qualify as a vegetable—so long as it was served with a healthy portion of another real vegetable, a point that got lost in the general hand-wringing.

The new regulations were closely scrutinized at the Food Research and Action Center, a Washington-based public interest law firm and consumer watchdog that got much of its money from the first federal agency abolished by Reagan, the Community Services Administration. Workers at FRAC wasted no time preparing the first meal to the new specifications. The paltry elementary school menu: 1½ oz. of hamburger (instead of 2 oz.), one slice of white bread (rather than 1½), six French fries, nine grapes, and a 6-oz. (not 8-oz.) glass of milk. The story was picked up by TV news and papers across the country. The New York *Times's* front-page headline: U.S. ACTS TO SHRINK SCHOOL LUNCH SIZE IN ECONOMY MOVE. The merits of the controversy got covered with catsup. Scoffed Pennsylvania Republican Senator John Heinz, a scion of the catsup-making family: "This is one of the most ridiculous regulations I ever heard of." The final straw came when Senate Democrats, including Minority Leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia, South Carolina's Ernest Hollings and Patrick Leahy of Vermont, were photographed staring with distaste at a skimpy sample school lunch. Said FRAC Head Nancy Amidei: "We didn't have to do anything—they handed us the issue on a platter."

RODDEY E. MIMS

Senators Hollings, Byrd and Leahy contemplate skimpy school lunch

The Administration was slow in assessing the political damage. A worried White House senior staff called in Agriculture Secretary John Block for consultations about whether or not to redraft the proposals. Apparently as a result, the subject was not broached in the President's Sept. 24 budget address. The following day Stockman blasted the proposed regulations as "a bureaucratic goof" and Block formally announced they would be pulled back for further study. Added Stockman tactlessly: "I don't think the little catsup episode is going to have any great significance."

In retrospect, chastened USDA officials feel that they should have sold their proposals more carefully within the Administration before going public. Says Mary Jarratt, USDA Assistant Secretary for Food and Consumer Services: "There was no way for the regulations not to be controversial. We are talking about a sensitive group, little children." With nearly one-third of the school lunch budget already slashed by Congress, those officials will have ample opportunity to devise a more appropriate, nutritional and workable plan.

WIN THE ULTIMATE STROH LIGHT NIGHT

Your Own Jet Plus $10,000

If you're the lucky Stroh Light winner, we'll fly you and five family members or friends anywhere a jet can take you, roundtrip, between sundown and sunrise. You can travel wherever you want to go in your own private plane, plus we'll give you up to $10,000 to spend for the evening.

Just imagine all the exciting things you could do in this fun-filled night! For example, you could start at the 21 Club in New York. After that, you could cruise over the Grand Canyon on your way to Beverly Hills, where a luxurious limousine could whisk you away to the Bistro Gardens for dinner with the stars. And when dinner's over, you could plan to catch a show in Las Vegas. Altogether, it will be a Stroh Light Night of a lifetime, and it's yours if you win the "Ultimate Stroh Light Night" Sweepstakes. (See official rules for complete details.)

And the fun doesn't end there. **Five First Prize Winners** will each receive $1,000 for a fantastic Stroh Light Party Night. You supply the occasion. It's the perfect way to celebrate a birthday, a holiday, an anniversary night, or *any* night. You could take your whole gang out for the best dinner in town and then catch a show or a ballgame. With $1,000 to spend, it's going to be a Stroh Light Night to remember!

Whenever good friends get together, it's a perfect time for a Stroh Light Night. So go to your participating tavern or retail store and make *tonight* a Stroh Light Night. And, while you're there, get complete details and entry forms for the "Ultimate Stroh Light Night" Sweepstakes.

Look for the special Stroh Light Sweepstakes display in your favorite store where you buy beer. You'll find tear-off entry forms and details on how to win a fabulous Stroh Light Night. Rules are provided on each entry blank. Sweepstakes is open to residents of the United States of legal drinking age in their state of residence. Sweepstakes void where prohibited. *No purchase necessary.*

To receive an official sweepstakes entry form, you can also write: Stroh Light Night Sweepstakes, P.O. Box 7040, Westport, Connecticut 06881. Be sure to include your name, address, and zip code on a stamped envelope.

©1981 The Stroh Brewery Company, Detroit, Michigan 48226

Now . . . that's a Stroh Light Night!

Why Bob Morgan says, "The Cincinnati Insurance Company, is a different kind of insurance company."

At The Cincinnati Insurance Company, it's people who make our business. In the fifteen years I've been with The Cincinnati Insurance Company, I've had the opportunity to witness tremendous growth. I've seen expanded facilities and constantly upgraded equipment as we have reached out to find better and better ways to serve our customers. It all comes back to people, however. No matter how sophisticated the physical plant, no matter how advanced the underwriting thinking, the success of a company like The Cincinnati Insurance Company rests with its people.

The agents who founded The Cincinnati Insurance Company tried to found a company that was different, that would respond with products that would meet the needs of both customers and agents alike. That philosophy, combined with an old fashioned commitment to the work ethic, has made us what we are today, one of the most exciting companies in the entire insurance industry.

It has always been the commitment of top management at The Cincinnati Insurance Company to associate our high quality insurance products with only the finest agents we could find. Again, there's the commitment to people that has made us what we are.

Of course, that isn't to say we haven't built a better mousetrap, because we have. Our claims service, for example, is superior. Our three hundred claims adjustors are committed to customer service. Their attitude is one of trying to find what they can pay in a settlement rather than trying to discover the loophole that would keep them from having to pay. We don't believe in telephone adjusting for just that reason, preferring a direct, personal contact with our insurance customer during a time of need.

"A commitment to people and an old-fashioned belief in the work ethic, that's what makes us special," says Bob Morgan, President, The Cincinnati Insurance Company.

It is pleasing to all of us that our efforts have been recognized nationally by some of the toughest critics our industry has. Only last year, for example, the stringent Illinois Insurance Department rated The Cincinnati Insurance Company among the top ten companies licensed in that state for its record of having fewer consumer complaints per thousand dollars of coverage. The tough Michigan Insurance Department placed The Cincinnati Insurance Company above comparison with other insurance firms due to the record of only one consumer complaint all that year.

Based on a survey of their readers, one of the nation's most highly respected magazines rated The Cincinnati Insurance Company as the number one firm represented by independent insurance agents in the handling of claims and the prompt payment of settlements. As those of us in the insurance business know, you have to be more than just a little different to get that kind of attention.

The Cincinnati Insurance Company is unlike most other insurance companies in a number of ways. Like our attention to detail, for example. I know each and every agent with whom we do business. All of us pay close attention to what is going on in the insurance marketplace, not just in our home office but in each of the communities in which we are represented. All that translates into better service for our insurance customers. Better service that has translated into a continually growing business, one that strives to be better tomorrow than it is today.

All that may help you understand why when I say we're different at The Cincinnati Insurance Company, it's more than just advertising copy.

Robert B. Morgan, President
The Cincinnati Insurance Company

For the name of the agent nearest you, call or write Bob Morgan at the address given below.

The Cincinnati Insurance Company/Queen City Indemnity Company/The Life Insurance Company of Cincinnati
Subsidiaries of Cincinnati Financial Corporation, P. O. Box 14567, Cincinnati, Ohio 45214/(513) 771-2000

1981

To cut phone charges up to 30%, Midwestern business is moving to ROLM.

More than 550 companies in Chicago, St. Louis, Springfield, and Kansas City have gotten together on one phone. Rolm. And for good reason. A Rolm computerized business telephone system can cut your company's phone bill. Automatically. By as much as thirty per cent, each month.

How does Rolm come through?

- Through Route Optimization, the Rolm computer searches for and finds the least costly calling route, each time you make a long distance call.
- Through Toll Restriction, the Rolm computer can control unnecessary long distance privileges, at specific extensions.
- Through Call-Recording, Rolm provides you with a computerized breakdown of your phone charges, in detail. It's the information you need for cost-effective management.

And there's much more to Rolm's control over telephone charges for companies with 24 to 4,000 extensions. Find out, by calling Carol Rogers at (312) 644-1140. With a system designed to save you money, Rolm is moving into the office of the future, now.

ROLM Midwest

Business is moving to Rolm.

ONLY ZENITH LETS YOU MAKE A TELEPHONE CALL THROUGH YOUR TELEVISION SET.

Here's how it works:

Push the Space Phone button. And now your System 3 Television works like a remote telephone. You can take or make calls anywhere in the world.

Dial the number you want. It prints out on the screen so you can see if you're dialing it right. In case you get a busy signal you can even program Advanced Space Phone™ to re-dial automatically.

When they answer, talk. The set itself works just like a speaker phone. The person you're calling hears you through a microphone built into the set. If you don't want them to hear what's said in the room, there's even a mute/privacy button you can push.

Advanced Space Phone™ is an amazing piece of technology that's built into a variety of 25" and 19" (diagonal) System 3 sets. But that's not all that's built in.

There's our PRP circuit which provides a 25% sharper picture than ordinary TV, the sharpest in Zenith history. There's the Tri-Focus Picture Tube with three focusing actions—one more than ordinary picture tubes. Color Sentry for automatic color control. And our Triple Plus Chassis, designed to be the most reliable ever.

Zenith System 3. When it comes to making a television set, Zenith has never been closer to perfection.

ZENITH
SYSTEM 3

ZENITH®

THE QUALITY GOES IN BEFORE THE NAME GOES ON.®

plains. "If I just eat breakfast and one lunch, it's not enough to hold me over till 7 o'clock."

Unconcerned about nutrition, most Lakeside students would probably seek lunch elsewhere if reduced federal subsidies force the school to raise prices too high. Observes Gilbert: "If they raise prices and if your mom is going to give you money every day, you can go over to McDonald's and buy a hamburger." Seniors can do that, but currently not students in lower grades.

▸ At the elementary school in rural Somerville, Me., a community of 300, the lunch food-service staff consists almost entirely of Blossom Monroe, 58, a grandmother of eight who is bookkeeper, purchasing agent, menu planner and cook. She operates without a formal budget, simply taking whatever money she gets from the local school board and buying any food she can find that is nutritious and inexpensive. A few days ago, while shopping for her own meals, she saw chicken legs and thighs on sale for 59¢ per lb. at a local grocery and bought a batch for the school. She arrives at 6 a.m. in the tiny kitchen to cook for the two-classroom school, serves the food to the 41 pupils —deciding for herself how big a portion each one needs—and circulates among them, cajoling this student to eat his peas, asking another if he might like a second hamburger patty. Her meals average $1.43 to prepare, but are sold at a "full" price of 55¢, and only 14 students pay that. Five pay 30¢ each, and the remaining 22 eat for free. Based on statewide average figures, the annual cost to U.S. taxpayers of Monroe's tender, loving care is a modest $5,090.

CULVER PICTURES INC

School lunch program on New York's Lower East Side (1914)

"No humane person wants to see one single child in America go hungry."

▸ At Eastman Avenue Elementary School in east Los Angeles, 1,550 children, nearly all Hispanic, fill the lunchroom with a clamorous din. Every single one of them eats free. Since more than 85% would qualify for no-cost meals anyway, the school had been excused from charging anybody until last year. Now, under new guidelines, it will have to charge students 75¢ for a full-fare lunch and 35¢ for a reduced-price meal. The school has not yet completed processing income-report forms from parents, however, so for the moment the free meals continue. The total cost of the Eastman program in the last school year: $336,375, of which 40% was contributed by the Federal Government. The lunches are plain: on one day, a hot dog and bun, three-eighths of a cup of watery beans and three-eighths of a cup of canned peaches. The children wolfed down the franks and peaches but left the beans. In all schools, urban and rural, rich and poor, teachers seem to have no more success than mothers in getting children to eat their vegetables. "If we allowed children to select their food instead of putting all of it on their trays, we could eliminate a lot of waste," says Eastman's food-service supervisor, Edith Sanderson. "Nobody can afford to feed garbage cans." But 12% to 15% of the meals get thrown out.

Cafeteria Manager Wanda Gillespie notes that Eastman has a special problem: "A lot of kids don't get this type of food at home. It takes a while for them to accept normal American things like apple sauce or mixed peas and corn." Gillespie tries, within Government requirements, to serve foods closer to the Latin taste, such as pizza and burritos.

Despite the waste of food, no one at Eastman doubts that the lunch program has been of great benefit since it began in 1969. Says School Nurse Lydia Chacon: "Absenteeism has gone down a lot. I don't see kids staying out of school for three days at a time, and I see far fewer colds or crankiness among the little children."

Few people doubt, either, that the program nationally has played a valuable part in dramatically reducing American hunger and malnutrition in recent years. But the inflation of the late 1970s reached an intolerable point, dictating an effort to chop the huge budget deficits that have been feeding it. In the view of David Stockman, Reagan's chief budget slasher, school lunch subsidies are "a perfect example of an entitlement program that should be reviewed. It entitles a lot of middle-class people to a trivial subsidy, which is nonsensical, because they pay their school lunch bill on April 15. Now that we've cut their tax due on April 15, they ought to start paying their own lunch bill."

The Reagan Administration originally proposed reductions of almost 41% in planned school lunch spending, but when Congress balked it settled for a cut of roughly 29%; expenditures this fiscal year are supposed to drop just under $1 billion below the previous budget target, to $2.4 billion. The major changes:

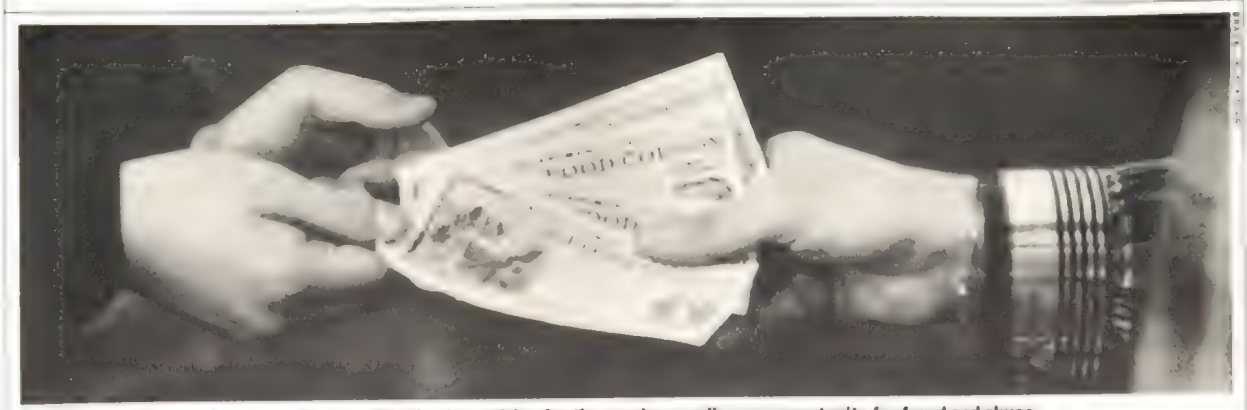
▸ Federal per-meal subsidies, including commodities,* are reduced from 32½¢ to 21½¢ for the misnamed full-price meals, and from $1.04 to 80¼¢ for reduced-price lunches. These subsidy comparisons are with the levels that would have been reached had the law not been changed; these payments, like other entitlement benefits, are indexed to inflation. The subsidy for the free meals was set at $1.20¼, actually higher than last year's $1.13, but a bit below the $1.24 it would have been if indexation had operated normally.

▸ Eligibility standards are tightened. The maximum charge for a reduced-price lunch doubles to 40¢, and the maximum family income is $15,630 if children are to pay that little, *vs.* $17,440 under old formulas (these standards, like subsidy payments, are indexed to inflation). The family income cutoff line for totally free lunches drops to $10,990 from the $11,520 scheduled under the old law. Furthermore, the new legislation urges schools not to notify parents of the changes in eligibility rules for free lunches when asking them to report their incomes, in order not to tempt them to understate their earnings.

The changes are designed to shift the emphasis of the program from benefiting all children to serving the neediest. In some of the poorest districts, the cutbacks will have little effect. For example, about 84% of the 3,600 public school students in Lee County, S.C., are black, and 86% of them get free lunches. That will enable the county schools to collect a special 2¢-per-meal subsidy paid to schools in which 60% or more of the meals served are free and reduced-price lunches. The county expects to receive the same $350,000 in cash subsidies that it did last year. Commodity subsidies will drop about $10,000 below the $104,648 of last year, but the county hopes to make up for that by not replacing two food-service workers who have quit.

Some school districts are already finding ways to make do with less. In Gary, Ind., prices of lunch for high school students who pay have increased from 60¢ to 85¢; savings have been made by firing administrators, reducing kitchen-staff hours and changing food-preparation methods to increase the amount of food made from scratch in school kitchens.

*Besides cash payments, the Government will donate $407 million worth of commodities (frozen chicken, canned vegetables, peanut butter) to schools this year



Food stamps: A second currency that provides basic nutrition for the needy as well as an opportunity for fraud and abuse

Barnardsville Elementary School in North Carolina has installed a vending machine to sell noncarbonated soft drinks; coins deposited in it go into the lunch program. Says Principal Roy P. McGuinn: "I'm opposed to it, but I'll compromise my principles that far to help this program." Leith Walk Elementary School in Baltimore is considering buying prepackaged lunches from outside suppliers instead of preparing food in its own kitchen.

Opponents of Reagan's cuts fear that if price increases cause middle-class students across the country to stop buying school lunches, their districts will be unable to earn enough to run cafeterias with reduced federal subsidies. This would shut off free or cheap lunches for the needy too. So far, however, dropouts have been spotty. The 19-school Central Valley district in Spokane County, Wash., decided it could not come up with the additional $130,000 that it would have needed to run its lunchrooms with reduced federal subsidies. Now it prepares its own lunches with its own money, and charges $1 for each. Students who do not feel they can afford that price go to the principal's office and arrange a program of work in the cafeteria to qualify for a free lunch. Last year, with federal subsidies, 45% of Central Valley's 10,600 students ate school-prepared lunches; this year 25% do. Most of the rest bring their lunches from home.

Some other districts have come close to dropping out. The Waverly school board near Lincoln, Neb., considered leaving the program, partly out of disgust with the paperwork involved. Cafeteria managers must follow the Agriculture Department's 111-page guide for school food service, and each day someone must fill out an 18-column sheet listing all financial details of every meal served and sold. The board decided to stick with the program, because without subsidies its schools would probably have had to stop serving its 98 free and 102 reduced-price meals each day. Though the students who eat those meals are a minor fraction of the district's 1,500 pupils, board members felt that they really needed the food. But if school lunch subsidies are pared again, Waverly may drop out after all.

Whether lunch subsidies will be cut any deeper is uncertain. Reagan's advisers are scheduled to decide this week which further cuts in entitlement programs to recommend, and Stockman has made no secret of his desire "to take more out of" the school lunch program. But any additional reductions will meet resistance in Congress, even from loyal Reaganites. House Republican Leader Robert Michel last week sent a letter to the American School Food Service Association asserting hopefully: "I don't believe any further cuts are contemplated by the Administration or Congress at this time. We recognize that it is a very important program that should be continued."

In sum, the school lunch program is a classic example of an entitlement plan that started small, achieved worthy results but grew to dimensions never initially envisioned. By cutting subsidies, the Administration is trying to encourage a return to community volunteerism and individual responsibility, as symbolized in part by the brown lunch bag. Whether this can be achieved without hurting the really needy remains to be seen.

Other entitlement programs have gone through a similar cycle of growth—notably Social Security. It began modestly, as a straightforward plan to provide retirement income, when Franklin Roosevelt signed it into law in 1935. Congress began expanding it as early as 1939—a year before the first payments were made—when it decided that benefits should go to the survivor (widow or widower) and dependents of a retired beneficiary. The expansions since then have been legion. Among them: bringing self-employed people, employees of state and local governments and nonprofit organizations into the system; providing for retirement at reduced, though still substantial, benefits at 62 rather than 65; starting, in 1956, a disability-insurance program.

The most fateful expansion occurred in 1972, when Congress raised retirement benefits 20% and decreed that beginning in 1975 benefits should be automatic and linked to increases in the Consumer Price Index. The C.P.I. proceeded to soar far higher than anyone expected. Furthermore, it badly overstates the living costs of the elderly; it is heavily influenced by housing prices, though few retired people buy houses. The maximum Social Security tax has risen from 1% of the first $3,000 of earnings, or $30, in 1935 to 6.65% of the first $29,700, or $1,975 currently. Even that increase has been far from sufficient to finance the staggering rise in benefits, and the trust fund out of which pensions and disability benefits are paid may run out of money by 1982.

If the growth of Social Security pensions ($120 billion in fiscal 1981, up from $31 billion in fiscal 1971) could be significantly slowed, cuts in other programs like school lunches might not have to be so drastic. But Social Security is an anomaly among entitlement programs. Though the retirement benefits were originally intended only to supplement individual savings and private pensions, they have come to constitute almost the entire income of many old people. Moreover, retirees look on the benefits as a mere return to them of taxes they have paid in their working years, though in fact such benefits are being financed by taxes levied on people still on the job today. In any case, the powerful lobby of older people, and those nearing retirement, looks on Social Security pensions, and regular increases in payments, as a sacred right.

The most obvious solution to the Social Security problem would be to key the future growth of benefits to some price index less generous than the C.P.I. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, Harvard Economist Martin Feldstein suggested a 2% "floor" under the indexation of benefits; that is, if the inflation rate were 8%, retirees' income from Social Security would rise 6%. Feldstein estimates that the formula, if adopted in 1982, would save the system $15 billion by 1985. The Administration, however, has not dared to present any such plan. It did consider proposing a three-month delay in the next benefit increase, scheduled for July 1982, but hastily backed off two weeks ago under intense fire from Congress.

A roundup of other major entitlement programs:

HEALTH FAIRS: CUTTING THE COST OF LIVING

SHIVELY, Ky.—Andy and Charlotte VerHage, residents of this Louisville suburb, may owe their lives to a preventive health-care program cosponsored by WLKY-TV, a Gannett television station.

Along with more than 8,000 others from the Louisville area, they took part in the health screening examinations offered at the 1981 Health Fair. While thousands were found to be in good health, the VerHages learned of dangerous, yet treatable, conditions.

"If it hadn't been for Health Fair, we probably wouldn't have sought medical attention," Mrs. VerHage stated. "It probably saved our lives."

Health Fairs are organized by the nonprofit National Health Screening Council for Volunteer Organizations and now provide an estimated $50 million a year in free testing and preventive medicine education. The Council relies on the sponsorship of local organizations, including the media, to help make health care more accessible to all and to overcome public inertia.

Joining WLKY-TV in cosponsoring community Health Fairs in 1980 and 1981 were Gannett's KPNX-TV in Phoenix, KBTV in Denver, KOCO-TV in Oklahoma City, WPTA-TV in Fort Wayne and KSDO radio in San Diego. Next year, several Gannett newspapers will also cosponsor Health Fairs in their cities.

In health, as in information, Gannett believes the communities it serves deserve the very best. From Cleveland to Cincinnati, Denver to Detroit, New Kensington, Pa. to Knoxville, Tenn., the newspaper, broadcast, outdoor advertising and other information services of Gannett join their neighbors in projects designed to help people in their daily lives—and to help those lives run their full, natural course.

For more information about Gannett, write: Gannett Co., Inc.; Corporate Communications; Lincoln Tower; Rochester, N.Y. 14604. Or call (716) 546-8600.

GANNETT

A WORLD OF DIFFERENT VOICES
WHERE FREEDOM SPEAKS

Medicare-Medicaid. Both programs were started in 1965 to help pay bills for people age 65 or older (Medicare) and for the poor of any age (Medicaid). Originally both were intended primarily to cover the costs of acute, short-term illness, but Medicaid was expanded in 1972 to cover long-term care in mental institutions and nursing homes. Some studies show that perhaps one-fourth of the patients in these institutions do not need to be there. The cost of both programs has been driven skyward by the soaring increase in hospital and doctor bills, which has averaged at least 15% a year. Medicare benefits today go to 26 million people and Medicaid to 22 million; the two programs combined cost Washington $57 billion last fiscal year. The Administration has persuaded Congress to enact minor adjustments to save $500 million in 1982.

Food Stamps. Started in 1961 on a pilot basis and made nationwide in 1971, this program has been steadily expanded to cover more people and increase the value of the stamps they receive in line with inflation; as recently as 1979 the Government eliminated the requirement that recipients buy stamps and handed them out free to those who qualified. In 1962 stamps went to a mere 151,000 people at a cost to the Government of $14.1 million; last fiscal year 22.5 million Americans got stamps at a cost of $11.3 billion. Congress, at Reagan's urging, has tightened eligibility requirements in a way calculated to remove about 875,000 people from the rolls and save the Government $1.6 billion.

The food stamp program, along with Medicare-Medicaid, is the most scandal-tinged of entitlements, exceeding even welfare; the rip-off is estimated at about $1.5 billion a year. "Food stamps have become a second currency," says John Graziano, inspector general of the Agriculture Department. "They are as negotiable as regular currency is. People have learned, unfortunately, that you can use a food stamp to buy a lot of things besides food"—meaning almost everything from clothes to cocaine. The major thievery is done by organized crime rings that have infiltrated the program as a way to launder money. For example, a criminal syndicate that owns a check-cashing service may buy stamps from recipients with tainted cash, then have a meat market it also owns forward the stamps to Washington for reimbursement.

Has a generous uncle become a Dickensian hard-heart?

Veterans Benefits. The great-granddaddy of all entitlements, this program pays benefits for both service-connected and non-service-connected disabilities to veterans of conflicts ranging from the Spanish-American War to Viet Nam, some of whom served for as little as 90 days, plus their widows and dependents. Roughly 5 million people are collecting $11 billion a year, and their lobby is so powerful that the Reagan Administration has proposed no changes whatever.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Federal participation in this basic welfare program started in 1935, when Washington joined the states in expanding what was then known as the mothers' aid movement. Originally, the program was intended primarily to assist widows with children. Today 80% of the payments go to single parents whose mates have deserted, and other eligibility standards have been steadily made more generous. In 1936, 534,000 people collected a total of $21.3 million in welfare payments from Washington. Today the Federal Government pays $7 billion to 11 million recipients. A tightening of rules is calculated to remove 400,000 families from the AFDC rolls in fiscal 1982 and reduce benefits slightly for another 287,000, saving Washington $1 billion.

House Speaker Tip O'Neill has frequently grumbled that Reagan threatens to undo all the social good achieved since the New Deal. The argument is political grandstanding. As the President noted at his press conference, "Twenty-two million people were eligible for food stamps before the reform—some 21 million will still be eligible today . . . about 40 million individuals are still provided with over $50 billion in cash and in in-kind benefits in eight major public assistance programs other than Social Security." Even the more heavily trimmed programs, like school lunches, appear to be in surprisingly good shape. School districts are adjusting to leaner budgets, parents are accepting the reality of paying more (as they do for everything else these days), and more children are rediscovering the small pleasures of brown-bagging.

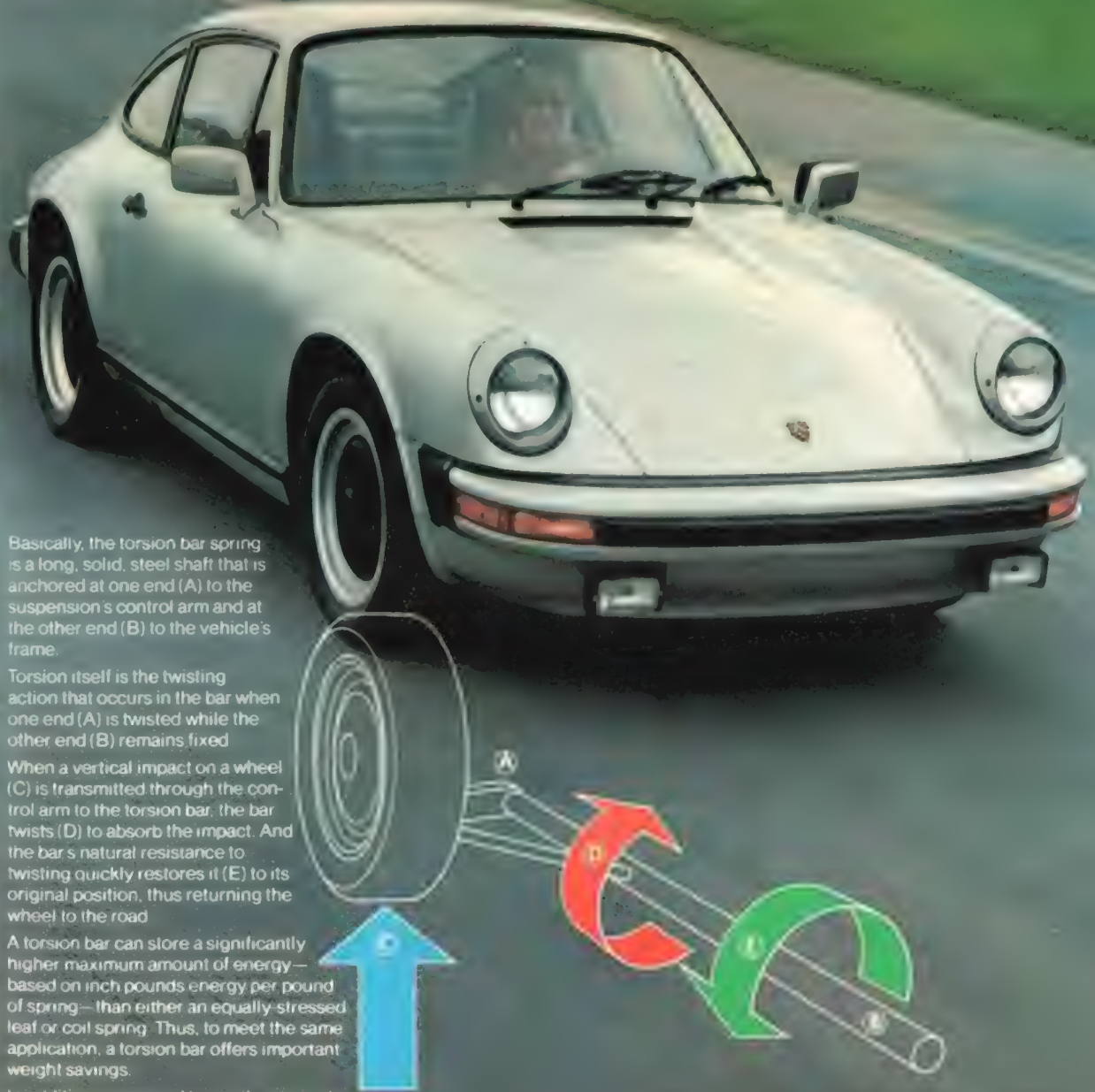
Yet the rigorous ongoing national debate over trimming entitlements helps direct attention to a fundamental and vital question: What level of benefits does a citizen have a right to expect from his Government? Both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans could probably accept Abraham Lincoln's answer —Government ought to undertake only those functions that individuals cannot perform for themselves—although they would surely interpret it differently. Certainly a decent, and especially an affluent, society must ensure some very basic rights: no one should starve, or die for lack of medical attention. Beyond that, Government should strive to improve the lives of its citizens, to the extent that its citizens can afford to have their lives improved. Unfortunately, a rapidly growing economy can afford more than one riddled by inflation and unemployment. Rudolph Penner, an economist at the American Enterprise Institute, looks on benefit programs as a kind of social contract between the Government and its citizens—one that should be renegotiated from time to time, as conditions change. For such a renegotiation to be fair, of course, it must involve everyone, as equitably as possible. For example, Reagan must oppose, as he has not yet, many farm subsidies, tax breaks for special interests and numerous other programs that primarily benefit the well-off. In addition, other budget changes—general tax laws, rates of defense spending, various incentives offered to business—must be publicly perceived to have been fairly distributed among the rich and poor.

"With the changes [in social programs] over the past 20 years, we haven't required people to be responsible for themselves," says Linda McMahon, head of the Office of Family Assistance in the Department of Health and Human Services. "We were the richest nation in the world, so we thought that everyone ought to have everything he wanted. The Government fostered the idea that it owed you something." Indeed, the basic mistake is that Americans began to confuse desirable and beneficial programs—and the continual expansion of them—with basic rights. In the process, they came to regard Government benefits as somehow free, and did not count costs or forgot that there were any. But there are: if not paid in taxes, those costs will be paid in inflation. Literally, free lunches will continue to be served in American schools, and should be to those children who need them. But metaphorically, there is no free lunch. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Gisela Bolte and Jeanne Saddler/Washington, with other U.S. bureaus*

Consumer Orientation
No. 15 in a Series
Subject: Torsion Bar Suspension as a Means to Reduce Vehicle Weight and Increase Aerodynamic Efficiency.

15 Porsche 911SC

At Porsche, we expect a high-performance car to also be a highly-efficient car. So we design every component to produce maximum output, yet add only minimum weight and require minimum space. A prime example: the torsion bar spring. It is used on all four wheels of the 911SC to improve riding comfort and maintain firm tire-road contact. In addition, compared to a leaf or coil spring, it conserves weight and space, two critical requirements of today's automotive designs. Dr. Ferdinand Porsche first introduced automotive torsion bar springing—nearly 50 years ago.



Basically, the torsion bar spring is a long, solid, steel shaft that is anchored at one end (A) to the suspension's control arm and at the other end (B) to the vehicle's frame.

Torsion itself is the twisting action that occurs in the bar when one end (A) is twisted while the other end (B) remains fixed.

When a vertical impact on a wheel (C) is transmitted through the control arm to the torsion bar, the bar twists (D) to absorb the impact. And the bar's natural resistance to twisting quickly restores it (E) to its original position, thus returning the wheel to the road.

A torsion bar can store a significantly higher maximum amount of energy—based on inch pounds energy per pound of spring—than either an equally-stressed leaf or coil spring. Thus, to meet the same application, a torsion bar offers important weight savings.

In addition, compared to a coil spring, a torsion bar requires significantly less space. Thus, on the 911's front suspension (diagrammed here), it can both provide more room for the luggage compartment and minimize airflow restrictions below the vehicle which increases aerodynamic efficiency.

The torsion bar has been standard equipment on the 911 since the 911's initial production, 17 years ago. At Porsche, excellence is expected.

For your nearest dealer, call toll-free: (800) 447-4700. In Illinois, (800) 322-4400. PORSCHE · AUDI
NOTHING EVEN COMES CLOSE

WESTERN EUROPE

Unemployment Plague

An ominous threat to political and social stability

He has a better education than most members of the street gang he hangs around with in the riot-scarred Liverpool slum of Toxteth. He has three years' experience as a galley boy on merchant vessels and, most important, a declared willingness to work hard. What Steve McGurty, 21, does not have, and is not likely to get, is a job. The merchant marine will not take him because he fell behind in his union dues. The army turned him down because he was fined $37 for being drunk and disorderly after a New Year's party. An architect's office rejected him, even though he has passed the test to be a draftsman trainee. The reason: he did not own a suit. "I am permanently hungry," McGurty says. "I can only afford one meal a day."

Nicole van den Thillart, 35, was a part-time social worker in the Dutch city of Utrecht until she decided to focus all of her energies on her studies in psychology and motor therapy. But she cannot find a job, even as an ordinary nurse in a psychiatric ward. "The crucial thing is to maintain a disciplined life," Van den Thillart says. "So, I make a program for every new day: get up at a certain time, do this, do that. I keep telling myself I will get a job, I am going to make it."

McGurty and Van den Thillart are part of an ominous phenomenon that has taken on alarming proportions in Western Europe. They are the victims of an accelerating wave of unemployment that now stands at a record level of 9.1 million, or 8.3%, in the ten nations of the European Community. That figure may not appear dramatically higher than the U.S.'s 7.5%, but any comparison conceals several key differences. While economists generally consider a jobless rate of 5% to 6% in the U.S. acceptable, governments in Western Europe, the cradle of socialist welfare democracy, have traditionally given full employment top priority. The loss of a job in Europe also has more permanent consequences than in the U.S. Only 13.1% of the U.S.'s unemployed stay out of work for more than six months, but the proportion is 47% in the United Kingdom and 53.6% in France.

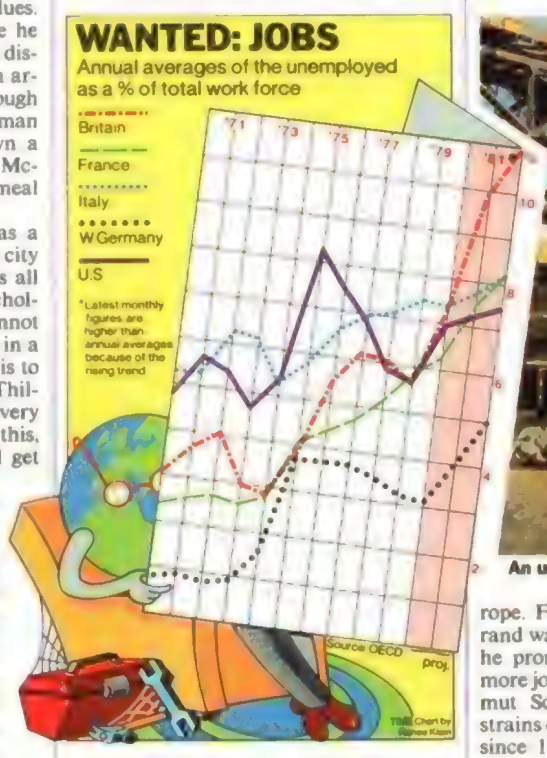
Moreover, the Europe-wide average understates the human plight, and political explosiveness, of unemployment that approaches 20% in such industrially depressed pockets as Northern Ireland and Belgium's Wallonia.* Warns Ivor Richard, European Commissioner for Social Affairs: "This is bound to place immense strains on the social fabric of our societies. With the increased propensity to violence amongst those who feel they have been victimized, this could threaten the very roots of our democratic and free societies."

Western Europe's unemployment problem is the result not only of the economic slowdown caused by nearly a decade of brutal oil-price increases; it reflects a basic structural change: the waning of Europe's ability to compete in traditional manufacturing industries. The postwar years of cheap energy, cheap labor off the farm, low social-welfare overheads and huge unsatisfied consumer demand are gone. "There is no easy answer," says John Martin, a manpower expert at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris.

What is more, because Western Europe's 1960s baby-boom generation is just entering the job market, the problem will become worse in the years ahead. By 1985, according to the Brussels-based European Trade Unions Institute, the total could reach 15 million, counting the women, youths and chronic unemployed who have given up looking for work.

Unemployment has already become a powerful political issue in Western Europe. French President François Mitterrand was elected last May in part because he promised a rigorous battle to create more jobs. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's coalition is feeling the strains of the country's highest jobless rate since 1952. In Belgium, Prime Minister Mark Eyskens' center-left coalition fell a fortnight ago over job-costly plans to restructure the country's ailing steel industry. The outbreak of violence in Liverpool's Toxteth slum and other British cities last summer is widely blamed on frustration over rising unemployment, as are the nightly confrontations in the suburbs of the French city of Lyon. Warns Dutch Prime Minister Andreas van Agt: "The time for twaddle is over."

Most troubling to Europe's leaders is that youths under 25 account for roughly half of the jobless legions. Economists cite several reasons. One is that strong labor unions have successfully negotiated such job security for their members that little



An unemployed worker at the last shipyard t

*The outstanding exception is non-E.C.-member Switzerland, where unemployment is a steady 1%.

room exists in a tight job market for newcomers. "No one can be fired," Rome Sociologist Francesco Ferrarotti says. "You can't even get rid of a maid without getting into trouble." Another factor is that with the exception of West Germany, most countries lack adequate apprenticeship programs to train youths to perform skilled jobs. In France, according to J. Paul Horne, Paris-based analyst for the investment-banking firm of Smith Barney, Harris Upham and Co., easy access to higher education in Western Europe has created a "crisis of expectations." Says he: "The young simply feel they won't and don't have to do menial work." Thus 3 million Turks, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, Portuguese, North Africans and other migrant workers continue to hold jobs that unemployed natives of the Continent's wealthier countries will not accept.

Women, too, suffer disproportionately. In West Germany, typically, unemployment is almost twice as high for women as for men. The imbalance would be even greater if discouraged women did not so readily quit searching for jobs.

be closed down along Scotland's River Tay

So far, the Continent's encyclopedia of social legislation has helped contain the problem by offering a generous safety net to those without work. In France, the government guarantees laid-off employees 75% of their final salary for the first three months. Those who have never had a job receive $9 a day. But while these measures protect the unemployed from undue physical hardship, they do not alleviate the psychological damage of being rejected. A breakdown of the situation in Western Europe's largest nations:

United Kingdom. Critics now refer to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as "Tina," an acronym of her repeated declaration that "there is no alternative" to her government's punishing policies. Although unemployment has more than doubled from 5.4% when she took office in May 1979 to 12.4% last month, Thatcher adamantly believes a decline in the inflation rate, now 11.5% annually, is a precondition to economic growth. "I did not promise a quick answer," she told Parliament during the Liverpool riots. She is fighting to hold average-wage increases to 4% for the country's 7 million public sector employees (civil servants, the military, and workers in state-owned enterprises like British Steel).

France. President Mitterrand, who desperately wants to keep unemployment, now 7.7%, below the politically volatile 2 million (8.3%) mark, has embarked on a course diametrically opposed to Thatcher's. He is boosting government spending in order to reach an annual growth rate of 3% next year, *vs.* .5% now. The 1982 budget unveiled last week calls for 61,000 new jobs to be created in such public service areas as health and education in addition to the 54,000 already funded for 1981. At the same time, the retirement age will be lowered from 65 to 60, the work week will gradually be shortened to 35 hours, and companies taking on more labor will be subsidized. The cost: $6.5 billion in new taxes and a $17 billion deficit that France, ironically, can afford next year because former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing left a full kitty.

West Germany. The country's reputation as Europe's economic powerhouse has taken a beating as oil-price increases brought economic growth to a halt. From 736,800 (3.2%) only two years ago, the jobless rate has swollen to 1.4 million, or 5.8%. Josef Stingl, president of the Federal Institute of Labor, warned last week that the number would probably rise further. One consolation: there is no evidence that the jobless have joined the middle-class youths who have rampaged through West Berlin and other cities to protest the lack of adequate housing. In the industrial Ruhr Valley, where unemployment is worst, there has been no street violence.

Italy. Although the published unemployment rate of 8.6% is above the European average, economists point out that the true figure, paradoxically, is perhaps only half as high. Data are distorted because many of those on the dole actually hold down jobs in the clandestine "black economy." Nor are politicians unduly concerned about the 1 million youths without jobs. In Italy being jobless does not carry the same stigma as in Northern European countries steeped in the Protestant ethic. "Let's put it this way," Sociologist Ferrarotti explains. "An unemployed youth in this country is considered to be just waiting for his right chance. He is *in parchéggio* (in a parking lot). He is not on trial and alone, as he would be in the U.S."

Europe's leaders have reached no consensus on what should be done about the crisis. Most countries are somewhere between Thatcher's monetarism and Mitterrand's Keynesian approach, a distance too great to allow for common policies. One of the more imaginative, if long-range, concepts is the plan of French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, to press for sharp increases in aid to the Third World. This would generate demand for European products and therefore new jobs. Aid would mean trade.

But there is bleak pessimism these days in Western Europe when officials talk about unemployment. "What we are up against in all industrial societies is a continuous process of change," a top E.C. official in Brussels explains. "But Europe doesn't have the dynamism of the U.S., nor whatever it is the Japanese have. We have a lovely culture, and we want to keep it, but we have to start thinking about change." ***—By Henry Muller. Reported by William Blaylock/Paris and Lawrence Malkin/Brussels, with other bureaus***

Idle factories in the depressed coal- and steel-producing region of Lorraine, France

"I keep telling myself I will get a job. I am going to make it."

POLAND

Walesa Gets Tossed—Not Dumped

Solidarity sticks with its leader, but his policies are attacked

If he lost, he warned, he might just wash his hands of the whole business and retire, perhaps to "write books and sign autographs." Three rivals were vying for his job, which was without parallel in the world: the chairmanship of the Communist bloc's only independent trade union, Solidarity, whose 892 delegates assembled in Gdansk last week for the second and decisive round of their national convention. As the campaign grew bitter, Lech Walesa was assailed for his "dictatorial" leadership style and his policy of seeking compromise with Warsaw's Communist bosses.

But there was far more at stake than a union job. A victory by one of the radicals might end all hope of peaceful cooperation between the union and the government. Even if Walesa won by a narrow margin, he could find it increasingly difficult to exert his authority over the restive and faction-ridden organization. Authorities in Warsaw and Moscow, already enraged by the provocative political demands of the initial Solidarity meeting early last month, were anxiously watching the results and calculating their moves. Indeed, on the eve of the vote, the Soviet news agency TASS ominously accused Solidarity of seeking to "dismantle the socialist system" and of "calling for fratricidal war" against the other East bloc nations.

In their final campaign speeches, Walesa's rivals became increasingly militant. Andrzej Gwiazda, 46, a leading Solidarity theoretician, complained that the union had "gone backward" by being too moderate. Marian Jurczyk, 46, a veteran labor activist from Szczecin, won enthusiastic applause with his attacks on government officials for threatening to use force to restrain disorder. By far the most inflammatory candidate was Jan Rulewski, 37, the local union chief from Bydgoszcz. He blasted the "imperialist policy of the Soviet Union," and implied that Poland had the right to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. That audacious pronouncement drew a mixture of applause and startled gasps from the assembly.

When his turn came to speak, Walesa gave an uncharacteristically low-keyed address, calling for unity and warning that the union should not "trust too much in our own strength." His tepid performance caused some observers to wonder whether the leadership, against all expectations, might be taken from him.

But when the ballots were finally cast and counted at week's end, Walesa was the easy victor. The former electrician and strike leader polled 55.2% of the four-way vote. Jurczyk took 24%, thereby establishing himself as a rising power in the organization. Gwiazda got 9%, and Rulewski only 6%, a stinging rebuff of his confrontational style.

As cheers echoed through the cavernous convention hall, Walesa strode casually to the podium. Said he: "Over the past year, we have been learning democracy. Through this congress, we will be wiser because of the comments and policies made here." Someone thrust a bouquet of flowers into his right hand. With his left hand, he triumphantly held aloft a canvas bag containing the election ballots as the delegates sang a chorus of *Sto Lat* (May He Live a Hundred Years). The scene recalled an even more exuberant celebration three days earlier. In honor of Walesa's 38th birthday, a group of scouts had treated him to songs and flowers, and supporters had tossed the stocky union chief into the air.

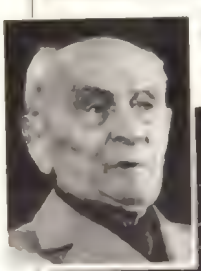
Until his electoral victory, however, Walesa had little real cause for celebration last week. Ever since the first round of the union convention three weeks earlier, Polish authorities had been talking about a possible crackdown and the Soviets had been threatening economic reprisals, if not outright intervention, unless Solidarity curbed its political demands. Walesa and his allies needed to work out some kind of accommodation with the Communist government in Warsaw. In this setting, with the prime responsibility his, Walesa found himself under blistering attack by union members.

The grumbling had started on the eve of the conclave, when Walesa and three other members of the union's eleven-man presidium accepted a compromise plan for worker self-management without consulting the rank-and-file. The new plan, which would give workers a limited voice in choosing their own plant managers, fell short of initial sweeping demands for worker autonomy. Many of the delegates returned to Gdansk spoiling for a fight with their own leaders.

Early last week Gwiazda blasted the compromise as "a deplorable political mistake" and accused Solidarity's leadership of "no longer talking to the grass roots." Rulewski said that "this union was not created to make compromises, but to smash the totalitarian system in our country." Finally, by a vote of 348 to 189, the delegates reprimanded their leaders for "a violation of the principles of union democracy" because so few people had taken part in the decision. At week's end, however, the delegates overwhelmingly adopted a resolution accepting the new government laws on worker self-management, but called for a national referendum on amendments to the legislation.

Walesa fought hard last week to bring back under control the union he had worked so hard to build. On the second day of the Gdansk session, he grasped the white lectern with both hands and angrily replied to his critics. "Don't think I'm a fool, or that I am manipulated by the experts," he said, responding to charges that he depended too heavily on his advisers. Walesa berated the radicals for seeking "to destroy the Sejm [parliament] and government, take their place, and become more totalitarian than they are." He added: "This we cannot do—we must protect ourselves from ourselves."

While Walesa and his radical challengers continued to jockey for position, Economist Edward Lipinski, 93, made a dramatic announcement: the Committee for Social Self-Defense, the influential dissident group known by the acronym KOR, was disbanding. Founded in 1976 to aid workers arrested after food-price riots, KOR had served as Poland's main underground opposition force and



Still on top: supporters hoist Walesa aloft on his 38th birthday; inset, Lipinski

Songs and flowers from well-wishers, but charges of "dictatorship" from his challengers.

IMPORTED
Seagram's
V.O.
CANADIAN WHISKY
Taste!
Whether you mix it in a whisky sour, or pour it on the rocks, you'll see why more V.O. is bought than any other imported distilled spirit in America. More than any Scotch, Canadian, Rum, Gin, Vodka or Tequila.
VO
Enjoy our quality in moderation.
CANADIAN WHISKY A BLEND OF CANADA'S FINEST WHISKIES
6 YEARS OLD 86 8 PROOF SEAGRAM DISTILLERS CO N Y C

5 mg. "tar", 0.4 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May 1981.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

You found it.

Be it ever so low in tar...
there's no place like True.

Producing stronger, lighter steels for fuel-efficient cars.

That's a Bethlehem commitment. And we're succeeding.

America's auto industry is out to beat the imports. With exciting new lines of cars that look great, last long, improve gas mileage.

And Bethlehem Steel is out to help. With stronger, lighter steels that shave pounds from American-made models.

For example, we now produce 78 high-strength sheet steels used to make automotive parts. And we've just committed $70 million for an advanced technology, continuous heat-treating line to produce even more sophisticated high-strength steels.

Bethlehem Steel and America's automakers: on the move...to compete successfully...now and in the years ahead.

Bethlehem

Bethlehem Steel Corp., Bethlehem, PA 18016

laid much of the organizational groundwork for Solidarity. KOR members, such as Jacek Kuron and Ajdrzej Celinski, had become key advisers to the union leaders. Lipinski, one of the group's original 14 members, explained last week that Solidarity's very success had created "new conditions and new forces that operate more effectively than KOR could."

Lipinski did not stop there. He delivered a scathing attack on Poland's Communist leaders in a booming voice that belied his frail figure. Declaring himself a socialist since 1906, he said that Warsaw's bosses had given the country a "faulty" socialism and precipitated "an economic collapse unparalleled in the course of the past 100 or 200 years." Said Lipinski: "This socialism of waste, of prisons, censorship and police, has been destroying us for 30 years, as it is doing with some other nations. It is their socialism that is antisocialist and antirevolutionary."

Meanwhile, Solidarity was preparing a bold blueprint for political, social and economic reform that would cause even more conflict with the government. Among the 34 points of the union's draft program that must be approved before the convention adjourns: democratic reforms at all levels of management and local government; formation of a second parliamentary chamber representing self-managing bodies in industry and local government; union control over food distribution; an end to the government's monopoly over the press, radio and television; and an independent judiciary. The program also calls for protection for lower-income groups in the event of new price hikes. Last week the government announced 300% to 400% increases in food and fuel prices. The draft program was careful to acknowledge "our alliance with the U.S.S.R." and Poland's membership in the Communist bloc. But TASS blasted the proposed resolution as "a manifesto of a political party that claims leadership of society and the country."

Moscow's displeasure was only to be expected. But even Walesa was unhappy with many of the reform proposals under discussion in Gdansk. Between convention meetings last week, he told TIME that he planned to propose his own program to the union, one that would be "more reasonable and gradual than the draft program of the congress."

Whether his moderate policies would prevail in the final resolutions was the central issue, one that was closely watched by Moscow and Warsaw. As the Gdansk session headed into its second week, it was clear that Walesa would have to fight even harder to retain control. Said his wife Miroslawa, with undisguised apprehension: "There are so many people against him. He is a great symbol, but such symbols can fall and then what? People will say he is responsible for the problems in the country." —*By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Richard Hornik/Gdansk*

ESPIONAGE

Farewell to the Mole

In an elaborate trade, West Germany sends a superspy East

The setting was pure John le Carré. Alerted to the story, a crowd of journalists waited under the trees outside Bonn's University Clinic, separated from the hospital by a cordon of green-uniformed policemen armed with submachine guns. When a nearby police helicopter started its engine without warning, the newsmen broke toward the aircraft in a dead run, hoping to catch a glimpse of the passenger inside.

Too late, they realized they had been tricked. A green van suddenly shot out of the clinic and tore down the hill at high speed. Inside was one of the most famous convicted spies in Europe: Günter Guillaume, 54, whose espionage in high places brought about the fall of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1974.

Günter Guillaume, right, with Willy Brandt during a campaign tour in 1972

Cleared for access to NATO documents and details of the Chancellor's private life.

Four hours later, Guillaume was driven across the frontier into East Germany in an American-made camper, closely followed by a beige Mercedes. The small convoy dropped its passenger, then quickly returned to the West German border. The release of Guillaume marked the beginning of the largest known spy-swapping operation between East and West since World War II.

According to Western diplomats in Bonn, three additional East German spies were included in the deal. One was Renate Lutze, a former secretary in the West German Defense Ministry, who was convicted on espionage charges in 1979. The others were not identified. Plans had also been made for three more Communist spies, now held in France, Denmark and South Africa, to be swapped last week, but arrangements with the governments involved were not completed on time.

In return, the East Germans agreed to release 43 West Germans jailed on catch-all "treason" charges—unjustly, according to the Bonn government. The plan also calls for East German authorities to issue exit visas to some 3,000 of their citizens who want to join relatives in the West. But for this the West Germans reportedly have to pay extra: a total ransom of about $45 million.

The release of Guillaume ended a political scandal that rocked West Germany seven years ago. Guillaume, who turned out to be a captain, later promoted to colonel, in the East German army, was a "mole" who worked his way onto Chancellor Brandt's personal staff in the early 1970s. At the spy's trial in 1975, officials testified that Brandt trusted Guillaume so completely that he was allowed to carry decoded NATO documents bearing the top security classification "cosmic" to and from Norway, where the Chancellor spent his holidays. The trial, and reports that Guillaume had collected evidence of alleged indiscretions in Brandt's private life, led to the Chancellor's resignation.

Brandt's successor, Helmut Schmidt, vowed repeatedly that Guillaume would serve his full 13-year sentence, and many West Germans still believe he should have done so. But the official attitude began to change as Guillaume's health deteriorated. Earlier this year he was moved from Rheinbach prison, outside Bonn, to a hospital for treatment of a kidney disorder and high blood pressure. In the end, the Bonn government decided that this was the best time for his release. As a West German parliamentary leader put it last week, "If we had waited any longer, the market value of this spy would probably have dropped." ■

"It's time to bring some reason and sanity to new car prices. For '82, Chrysler Corporation is holding the '81 price line on these popular front-wheel-drive, high-mileage cars."

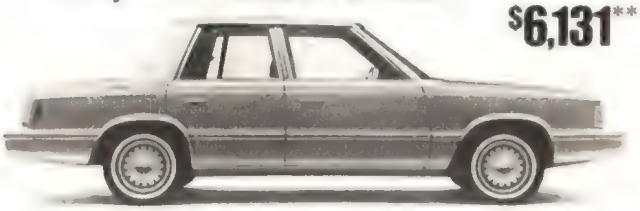
Lee A. Iacocca, Chairman
THE NEW CHRYSLER CORPORATION

Lowest priced, highest-mileage 6-passenger front-wheel-drive cars in America.

'82 Dodge Aries K 2-Dr Coupe
'82 Plymouth Reliant K 2-Dr Coupe
41 26*
$5,990**

$764 less than Chevrolet Citation Hatchback Coupe
$1,136 less than Ford Granada L 2-dr Sedan

'82 Dodge Aries K 4-Dr Sedan
'82 Plymouth Reliant K 4-Dr Sedan
41 26*
$6,131**



$1,443 less than Oldsmobile Omega 4-dr Sedan
$1,170 less than Ford Granada 4-dr L Sedan

Lowest priced, highest gasoline mileage 5-passenger front-wheel-drive cars built in America.

'82 Dodge Omni Miser 4-Dr Hbk
'82 Plymouth Horizon Miser 4-Dr Hbk
52 35*
$5,499**

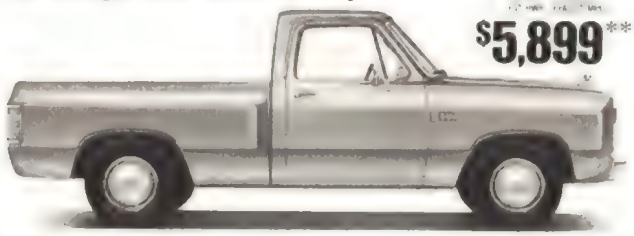
$1,638 less than Chevrolet Cavalier 4-dr Sedan
$764 less than Ford Escort L 4-dr Hatchback

'82 Dodge Omni Custom 4-Dr Hbk
'82 Plymouth Horizon Custom 4-Dr Hbk
47 30*
$5,927**

$1,276 less than Pontiac J-2000 4-dr Sedan
$695 less than Escort GL 4-dr Hatchback

Introducing the lowest priced full size pickup in America.

'82 Dodge Ram Miser Pickup
29 21*
$5,899**



$665 less than Chevrolet C-10 Pickup
$667 less than Ford F-100 Pickup

*Use EPA est. mpg for comparison. Your mileage may vary depending on speed, weather, and trip length. Actual highway mileage will probably be lower.
**Base sticker prices excluding taxes and destination charge. Sticker prices higher in [illegible] AL, MA, MS, NE, NY, PA, WA. While estimated from $[illegible]. Standard equipment levels vary between vehicles compared.
†Based on published General Motors prices as of August 1, 1981.

Dodge
Dodge Trucks

'82 CARS AT '81 PRICES

CHRYSLER
Plymouth

In full view, risking immediate execution if caught, young guerrilla brandishes a revolver in street battle with Islamic Guards in Tehran

IRAN

Bloodshed in the Streets Again

Despite hundreds of executions, the guerrillas press on

"This is the month of blood. Khomeini will fall." Chanting that refrain, throngs of young men and women opposed to the repressive theocratic regime of Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini began marching in the streets of Tehran one morning last week. Acting on government orders to "exterminate the heathens," members of the Islamic Guards quickly went after the protesters. But the Guards were trapped by leftist Mujahedin-e Khalq guerrillas who had positioned themselves on rooftops along the streets. The government conceded that 36 Islamic Guards were killed in the ensuing battle, which raged over a 6-sq.-mi. area for more than seven hours.

The urban shootout was the latest escalation in the well-organized Mujahedin's struggle to topple Khomeini. It demonstrated that the guerrillas have retained their command structure, organizational efficiency and firepower despite the purges by the embattled regime. Including the 195 people shot last week, 2,150 opponents of the government have been executed since deposed President Abolhassan Banisadr and Mujahedin Leader Massoud Rajavi escaped to France in July. This kind of bloodbath, Rajavi declared last week, will not deter his guerrillas. Said he: "The Resistance is prepared to pay the heaviest price possible to liberate Iran from the shackles of reactionary rule."

The guerrillas, who are said to number 100,000, are commanded in Iran by Mousa Khiabani, who operates from a bunker in Tehran. They keep in touch with walkie-talkies, shortwave radios, "safe" phone lines and even carrier pigeons. Their strength also comes from a 5,000-member intelligence network that has penetrated every level of Khomeini's hierarchy. One example: Massoud Keshmiri, the top government aide who carried a bomb right into a meeting with President Ali Raja'i and Prime Minister Mohammed Javad Bahonar, killing them and six others last month.

The highest echelons of Khomeini's command were further decimated last week when Defense Minister Mousa Namju, acting Staff Chief Valiollah Fallahi and two other ranking commanders were killed in the crash of a C-130 returning from the Iranian-Iraqi front. Although a spokesman for a group of former officers loyal to the Shah claimed to have sabotaged the plane, both the government and Mujahedin leaders believed the crash was most likely an accident. Only days earlier, Iran had claimed its "biggest victory" in the year-long border conflict when its forces broke the Iraqi siege of Abadan, a key oil-refining center. Later, the Kuwaiti government protested that Iranian jets had attacked an oil installation in Kuwait. The Iranians denied the charge, but in Washington, Secretary of State Alexander Haig confirmed that U.S.-manned AWACS reconnaissance planes flying above Saudi Arabia had spotted the Iranian fighters as they set off on their mission.

In a week of bad news, the Ayatullah's government hoped to recoup, psychologically at least, by claiming a massive turnout in the country's third presidential election. Though results will not be official until mid-week, it was a foregone conclusion that the Islamic republic's third President would be the clerics' approved candidate: Hojjatoleslam Ali Khamene'i, 42, a Majlis (parliament) representative still partly paralyzed from the explosion of a Mujahedin-planted bomb last June.

Despite the ever rising level of violence in Iran, Washington feels the Khomeini regime is in no serious peril. "There is no evidence that it has lost either popular support or control over the mechanism of government," said one source. Banisadr and Rajavi were more optimistic. From their headquarters in Auvers-sur-Oise, France, they announced a program for the transitional government they hope to form "when Khomeini falls and before new elections are held." Predictably, Banisadr would be President, and Rajavi Prime Minister. Boasted a Mujahedin leader: "We are already a state within a state." —*By Henry Muller. Reported by Raji Samghabadi/New York and Adam Zagorin/Beirut*

STERN MAGAZINE

After a skirmish, government sympathizers watch as firemen set to work

Rooftop ambushes, carrier pigeons and the will to risk death.

Inside a Khomeini Prison

The first-person account of a man marked for death

While Khomeini's Islamic Guards are executing enemies of the regime in the streets, they are also torturing suspected opponents behind prison walls with a ferocity unequaled even by the deposed Shah's notorious SAVAK agents. Many of the prisoners who are being tortured are merely relatives of dissidents sought by the political police. One victim, who is now in hiding in Iran, described his ordeal to TIME

"Why am I here?" I asked one of the Islamic Guards who had arrested me in July and brought me to a detention center north of Tehran that was filled with political prisoners. He wanted to know the whereabouts of my brother [a political dissident wanted by the police]. "I don't know," I said. "I haven't seen him for two months."

At that, the door of the interrogation room burst open and a group of men circled me, then charged. Each man in turn would direct a karate kick or chop at me, sending me staggering to another of the torturers. My lips cracked, my nose bled and my cheeks were so swollen I could not see. When I could not stand on my feet any more, one guard would pick me up and another would kick or punch me. They laughed each time I hit the floor. I passed out a few times. They would bring me back to consciousness by splashing ice water in my face. Each time they would ask me if I still had difficulty remembering where my brother was. I truly didn't know, but they wouldn't believe me.

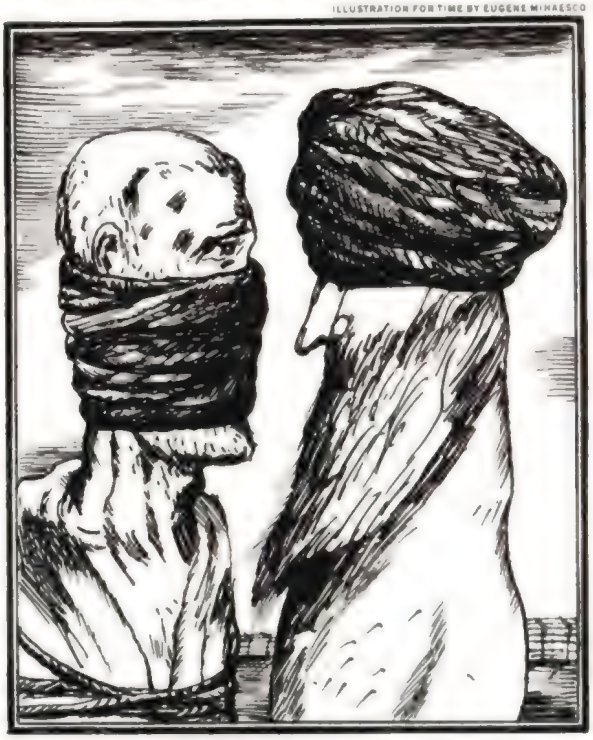
Then they threw me into a cell full of other battered political prisoners and threatened to "play football" with me again unless my memory improved. [The same technique was used by SAVAK and called by the same name. The aim is to shatter the prisoner's self-confidence and ability to think clearly so that he cannot consistently relate a "cover" story he may have prepared.]

They played football with me for four days. After the second day, they introduced a new feature to the game. Two men locked their legs in mine and held me spread-eagled against the wall. Then a third would run at me from the opposite wall and drive his knee into my lower abdomen and testicles. The pain was unbearable.

After that they took me to Tehran's Evin Prison, one of the Shah's most notorious jails. The cells were so packed with political prisoners that some were held in the halls and bathrooms. I was placed in a tub of ice water. I don't know how long I was kept there, but when they dragged me out I was numb and almost senseless. My skin was frozen and felt like wood. "Let's warm him up," said an Islamic Guard. The two began whipping me with cables. At first I couldn't feel much pain, but then it got sharper and sharper. I was bleeding all over. I passed out.

They let me alone for a few days. Then just as I was feeling a little better they started on a different tactic. It was psychological. Clergymen strolling through the passages between cells would abruptly point to a prisoner in an ostensibly whimsical manner and order the Islamic Guards to shoot him on the spot. One of the Guards yelled "I'm the judge and the executioner too" as he fired into a prisoner's temple. A man I was talking to in our cell was suddenly separated from me and shot through the head by an Islamic Guard. I was given a mop and a bucket and ordered to "clean up the mess." "Your turn is coming," the Guard told me.

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY EUGENE MIHAESCO



Toward the end of July, around midnight, about 70 men, women and children were brought in. The children and most of the women were shrieking. They were all members of a wedding party. One smartly dressed celebrant said he had no idea what had gone wrong. "We were congratulating the bride and bridegroom when they burst in and arrested everyone," he said. Some of the more sophisticated political prisoners pointed out that all newly married couples in Iran had lately been suspected of being members of the Mujahedin-e Khalq (People's Crusaders), the militant anti-Khomeini guerrilla force. The reason was that the Mujahedin leadership had recently instructed its unmarried guerrillas to wed in order to counter government propaganda claiming that Mujahedin members were living in sin.

On Sept. 4, one of my interrogators told me that very serious charges had been leveled against me, though he did not say what they were. When I challenged him to name a single individual who had accused me of a crime, he said, "I will introduce you to as many as you want." And he did. A few days later he brought me in manacles to a mass prayer service in the jail courtyard. He then asked the congregation to look me over to see if anyone recognized me. More than a dozen men came forward, rattled off my name and address and declared they had seen me kill Islamic Guards and innocent people during anti-Khomeini demonstrations. When I asked one of the witnesses who claimed to know me so well, "What's my father's name?" the interrogator yelled at me to shut up.

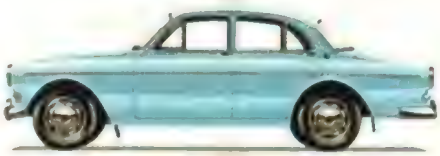
The next day a makeshift tribunal consisting of five mullahs was set up in a corner of the prison yard. They sent a few new prisoners to the execution squads before my time came for interrogation. One of the clergymen asked me whether I remembered where my brother was. When I replied that I didn't know, the mullah said to his colleagues, "Why keep such vermin alive anyway?" They nodded. My interrogator came for me and waved a paper under my nose. "Well, it's all over, this is your writ of execution," he said. "By the way, if you change your mind about your brother, let me know. Maybe I can get the judges to cancel your sentence."

I was sent to the bathroom to perform my ablutions as a Muslim before the execution. There I met two other condemned political prisoners. One said they had both tried and failed to squeeze through a narrow opening into what looked like a ventilating shaft. To make a ladder for me, one stood on the other's shoulders. I climbed them both and just scraped through the hole. I am thin as it is, and the loss of 40 lbs. under torture helped.

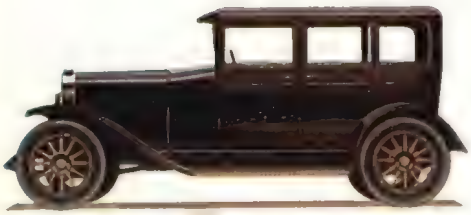
As I was letting myself down, one of the prisoners said, "Tell the people to avenge our murder. We shall die chanting 'Death to Khomeini!' Tell the people we are proud of dying for their freedom."

I jumped into a tree and climbed down into a garden. Then I scaled a wall, leaped into the street and walked away. ■

IN YOUR SEARCH FOR A LONGER LASTING CAR, REMEMBER LONGEVITY IS HEREDITARY.



*Analysis conducted by Ken Warwick & Associates, Inc. Based on a comparison of U.S. registration data for Volvo and for the automobile industry as a whole and not by individual make. Summary available at your Volvo Dealer. © 1981 Volvo of America Corporation



As car prices have spiralled, so have people's expectations of what they should get for their money.

A recent study by the Roper organization, for instance, has shown that Americans plan to keep their cars longer.

Which could explain why more and more people are buying Volvos.

For 55 years, Volvo's philosophy has been to produce durable, well-built automobiles. Nowhere is that philosophy better embodied than in the Volvos of today.

Recent findings show that Volvo's life expectancy is 1/3 longer than the average life expectancy of all other cars on the road.*

So if you expect your next new car to last a long time, make sure you marry into the right family.

VOLVO

A car you can believe in.

BRITAIN

Laboring Along

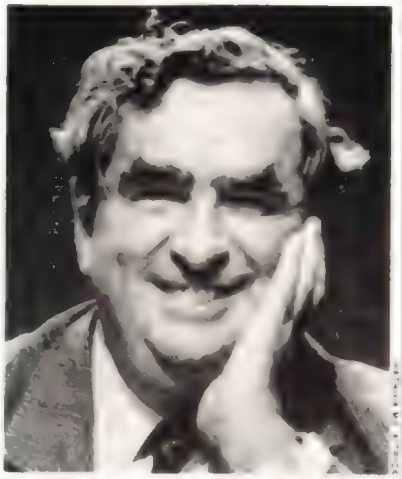
Healey holds on—just

In the hubbub of Brighton's Old Ship Hotel, the rough-hewn intellectual with the craggy brows celebrated his victory with a tulip of champagne followed by a pint of beer. For Denis Healey, there was symbolism as well as pleasure in the occasion—a signal that he was a man for all tastes. Healey had just been re-elected as the deputy leader of the Labor Party. Meanwhile, at a fish and chips place a few blocks away, Tony Benn, Healey's unsuccessful leftist challenger, sipped Coke from a can and ruminated on the sudden show of vigor from the party's moderates that had given the radicals their first setback in two years.

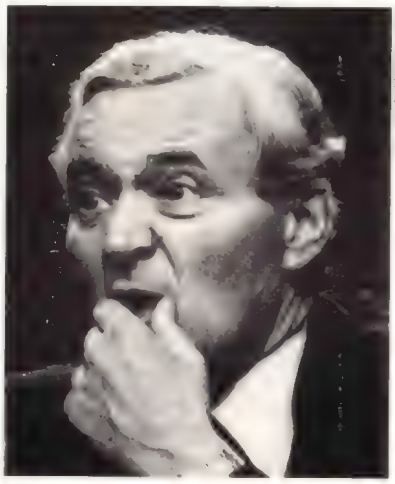
In itself, Healey's accomplishment last week was hardly a smashing triumph —he won by eight-tenths of 1%—but it was important because the battle for the relatively insignificant post of deputy leader had been so bruising that it threatened to tear the party apart. The moderates were striving to turn back the challenge of the extremists, under Benn's leadership, that had rapidly gained momentum since the party was turned out of power in May 1979. The Bennites want Britain to scrap its nuclear arms, pull out of NATO and nationalize banks and insurance companies. In February, rebelling against the leftward tilt of the party, some of Labor's top leaders bolted to form the Social Democratic Party, which has gained in popularity so rapidly that it has topped both the Labor and Tory parties in recent polls.

To beat Benn, the moderates marshaled the help of powerful trade union barons, who made it clear that they would not tolerate another year of the damaging infighting that has deflected attention from burgeoning unemployment and the anti-union policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government. At the last minute, the moderates also got an unexpected assist from 35 of Benn's fellow leftist M.P.s who do not like his political opportunism. They cast their votes for a dark-horse leftist on the first ballot, then abstained on the crucial second ballot to give Healey the edge. Next day the delegates delivered an even more serious blow to Benn's group. They dumped five members of his camp from the National Executive Committee, which plays the major role in setting party policy.

After his defeat, Benn tried to see the bright side: "It is a victory because from the very beginning right through to the end we have won the argument." But the words rang hollow a few hours later, when the Brighton conference rejected a Benn-backed resolution calling for Britain to pull its troops out of Northern Ireland. Subsequent votes turned down leftist proposals on nationalization and withdrawal from NATO. But a conference vote for unilateral nuclear disarmament fell just short of the two-thirds majority necessary to make it mandatory policy in the party manifesto. Then it voted overwhelmingly to pull out of the European Community.



Denis Healey savors his victory



Tony Benn puzzles over his defeat

Fighting the Trots, Stalinists and loonies.

After his victory, Healey appealed for party unity and vowed to develop policies that "will command majority support of the British people." What was important, he told TIME, was that "we have stopped the rot of the attempted takeover of our party by the Trots, Stalinists and loonies who have really nothing in common with Tony Benn—whom I readily agree is sincere—in whose name they act." Said former Prime Minister James Callaghan: "Now we're in business again as a serious alternative to Mrs. Thatcher's awful Conservative government." Party Leader Michael Foot said the first step toward that end would be an "alternative economic strategy," a massive public works program to get Britain's 3 million unemployed back to work. ■

IRELAND

The Strike Ends

And a step toward unity

Two quite different developments took place last week that could ease both historic and recent tensions in Northern Ireland. The more dramatic came from Maze Prison, where at week's end Irish Republican militants announced that they were giving up their seven-month campaign of fasting that has left ten dead since it began last March. In Dublin, Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald launched a bold initiative to change the constitution of the Irish Republic in ways that would make unification of the divided island more conceivable.

The statement from the prisoners was inevitable. Earlier, word spread that families of the final six fasting inmates would not permit their men to die. They were following the lead of four other families who intervenedwith Maze authorities to save prisoners lives. Three other strikers decided to abandon the fast on their own. Richard McAuley, a leader of the Sinn Fein, the political arm of the I.R.A., has admitted that under such circumstances the hunger strike was placing "little or no pressure" on the British to yield to the prisoners' demands for political status, though the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had shown no indication of doing so in any case.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister FitzGerald was trying to make unification of the Republic and Ulster more attractive to Northern Ireland's Protestants, who have protested that they would be swallowed up in a predominantly Catholic state. FitzGerald proposed changing the Republic's constitution and laws to remove Catholic bias. He cited articles that claim jurisdiction over the whole island and ban divorce. FitzGerald is likely to have trouble getting his plan passed by the Dáil, since he leads a coalition that has only a two-vote margin. If approved, the constitutional amendments would have to be ratified by national referendum.

The Catholic Church made no response to FitzGerald's proposals last week, but they were hailed by leading Protestant clergymen in the Republic. In Ulster, Protestant Firebrand Ian Paisley railed that FitzGerald's plan would "in no way weaken our resolve never to come under Dublin rule." Catholic leaders gave the initiative a guarded welcome. Said Sean Farren, chairman of the predominantly Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party: "Many changes, both in attitudes and in law, are needed if a meaningful agreement is to be achieved between the people of Ireland."

Prime Minister FitzGerald was trying to make one of the first and most fundamental changes—and betting his political career on it. ■

CANADA

Well, Yes and No

Mixed blessing for Trudeau

The dark-walnut-paneled Ottawa courtroom was packed with government lawyers, bureaucrats and a few curious law students last week as the nine black-robed justices of Canada's Supreme Court filed in to deliver a historic verdict on the country's future. When Chief Justice Bora Laskin began to read, there was a moment of confusion. A special sound system failed, and his words were barely audible to a nationwide television audience. But the impact of his message was clear enough. At the end of a five-month courtroom fight between the federal government of Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and eight of his country's ten provinces,* the court had come down on both sides, prolonging once again a 54-year struggle over power sharing that at times has threatened to tear apart Canada's relatively loose political confederation.

At issue was Trudeau's long-held belief that Canada requires a stronger central government and, in addition, a constitutional charter of rights guaranteeing equal freedoms for all the 24 million French- and English-speaking citizens, regardless of local jurisdiction. Both of Trudeau's aims are hotly disputed by the provincial premiers. They jealously guard the extensive powers granted them in 1867 by Canada's founding British North America Act, still held by Britain, which is the basis for Canada's self-government. Among other things, the premiers fear that Trudeau wants to impinge on such provincial areas as education, natural resources and labor regulation.

Trudeau

Trudeau finally decided to bypass the premiers, asking Britain to add his charter to the B.N.A. Act and then give authority over the document to Canada. The British were willing in principle, providing the Canadian Supreme Court agreed. In its ruling, the court said that Trudeau could ask for the B.N.A. Act. But it also ruled that any prior tinkering with the act would flout unwritten constitutional tradition unless it went hand in hand with "at least a substantial measure of provincial consent."

Trudeau promptly proclaimed the judgment a victory. So did the opposing premiers. Trudeau intends to press on. He has invited the premiers to consult one more time. If that fails, he might send a request to Westminster to release the amended act, and challenge the premiers directly. The battle is far from ended. ■

*Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Saskatchewan.

Taipei gateway to the presidential palace: an anniversary marked by a homecoming invitation

CHINA

Suitor Scorned

Taipei rejects Peking

For decades China's Communist leadership had characterized the rival Nationalist regime in Taiwan as "nothing but a government of treason, civil war and dictatorship." Peking has often refused to rule out the possibility of using force to capture the island. But last week China seized the occasion of the forthcoming 70th anniversary of the fall of the Manchu dynasty to step up a propaganda campaign to woo and win Taiwan. In an unprecedented offer, Peking invited the leaders in Taiwan to "share power" with the Communists in a reunified China.

At first glance, Peking's nine-point proposal seemed to offer solutions to all the hitherto irreconcilable differences between the two regimes, both of which claim to be the legitimate government of China. If Taiwan would agree to be politically integrated with the Communist mainland, Peking vowed that it would not interfere in local Taiwanese affairs, and island residents would be permitted to travel freely on the mainland. Reiterating a remarkable concession that has already become part of the Communists' courtship of Taiwan, Peking promised that the island could keep its own armed forces and maintain its present democratic system. Taipei's Nationalist leaders would be offered posts in Peking.

Few analysts believe the Chinese leaders are really prepared to share even a modicum of power with their historic enemies in Taipei. Still, observers feel that Peking is genuinely interested in starting talks that would serve some important domestic and foreign policy goals. The government dominated by Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping needs to deflect domestic claims that it is not doing enough for reunification. Peking's offer also seems calculated to convince the Reagan Administration that there is no need to sell advanced jet fighters to Taiwan, an issue so serious to the Chinese that they have warned that it would disrupt relations with Washington. Finally, China may have made its offer because of the failing health of Chiang Ching-kuo, 71, President of the Republic of China. Says Kenneth Lieberthal, a China expert at Swarthmore College: "Peking is concerned that after Chiang goes, there's no one of prestige and power on the island who could make such a move toward reunification."

Taipei scornfully dismissed the Chinese offer as propaganda. "The only way to bring about national reunification is to abandon the Communist system," declared James Soong, a spokesman for the Nationalist government. He told TIME Correspondent Ross H. Munro: "We will not negotiate with Communist China, period!" Soong ridiculed Peking's assurances that it would not interfere in Taiwan's local affairs after reunification. "They will become the central government, and we will become the local government. Have you ever heard of a central government that doesn't interfere in local affairs?" Asked how native-born Taiwanese would respond to any opening of negotiations between Taipei and Peking, Kang Ning-hsiang, a popular Taiwanese legislator, replied: "We'd fight, we'd revolt. People in Taiwan aren't interested in having the kind of life they lead on the mainland."

But Taiwan's adamant stand against negotiating with Peking may carry its own risks, including the possibility that its intransigence may weaken its standing with the U.S. Says a Western diplomat in Peking: "The strongest argument for negotiating is that Taiwan is never likely to get a better offer from Peking than the one that it now has. Who knows what the situation will be like in ten years? The U.S. could be preoccupied elsewhere in the world even as Peking has become much stronger and capable of driving a harder bargain." ■

CLASS

Our new Cougar wagon is designed to do more than carry lots of groceries.

It's designed to go lots of places. Because this is one wagon that's at home at the opera as well as the supermarket.

The plush Cougar appointments provide a feeling of unusual luxury in a practical, mid-size wagon.

NEW COUGAR WAGON

Buy or lease from your Lincoln-Mercury Dealer

ROOM
There's a new V-6 engine option. And options like a choice of sound systems, fabrics, even an extended-range fuel tank, let you tailor your wagon just the way you want. After all, the most important thing your new Cougar wagon will carry, will be you.
1982 COUGAR
LINCOLN-MERCURY DIVISION
Ford
FROM LINCOLN-MERCURY

No topless boogying, unabashed sex or pot, but Soviet rockers pound out the sound as lights blaze and fans sway

NOVOSTI

SOVIET UNION

Tired? *Nyet!*

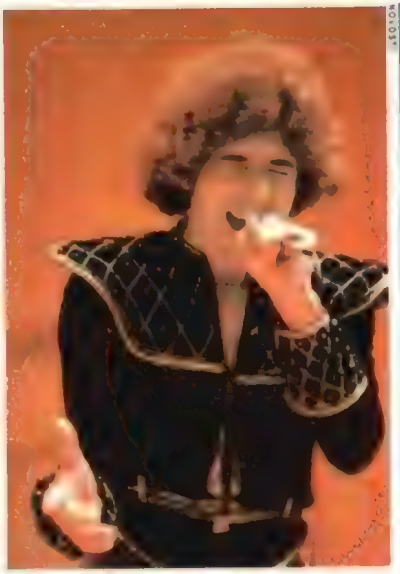
Woodstock, Yerevan style

The ecstatic festival of peace, love and shattering music was a far cry from its Aquarian inspiration. True, there were crowds, of a sort. Over nine days, 79,000 rock fans chanted lyrics, swayed from side to side, and occasionally danced in the grandstands to the thumping sounds and prancing antics of their daringly costumed, idolized performers. But most male haircuts in the audience were trim and short, and there was no topless boogying, unabashed sex or potluck pot.

Still, it would do. For the Soviets, the festival was a mini-Woodstock similar in spirit, if not in size, to the rock festival that attracted some 450,000 fans to a dairy farm in upstate New York in 1969. The unlikely site of the Communist bash: a bicycle racing stadium in Yerevan, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, a city of 1 million people hard by Mount Ararat.

The celebration, sponsored by the Armenian Ministry of Culture, was the first major rock festival to be held in the Soviet Union. Officials have painfully mixed feelings about pop culture and its musical expression, sometimes denouncing it as decadent, sometimes going along. When the Yerevan festival was approved, young Soviets came from as far away as the Baltic republics, central Russia and even Siberia. They luxuriated in the distinctive sounds of such national pop superstars as Stas Namin, 30, Gunnar Graps, 29, and his Magnetic Band, and Valeri Leontiev, 32, a booted, bolero-suited dancing rocker whose performance falls somewhere between those of Mick Jagger and Mikhail Baryshnikov.

The fans got a psychedelic dose of rock antics that any Western teen-ager would recognize: flailing drummers, singers with shoulder-length hair blasting out songs through banks of amplifiers, ice-blue light beams bouncing off a multifaceted prism onto a throbbing stage. A total of eleven bands, putting on two concerts a night, thumped through such Soviet Top of the Pops hits as *City Limits Blues*, *This Beautiful World* and *Mirror*, plus such imports from the West as *I Will Survive*, and *Blue Suede Shoes*, both in English.



NOVOSTI

Valeri Leontiev, above, and Gunnar Graps

NOVOSTI

Like blue jeans, Pepsi-Cola and vintage jazz, Western rock 'n' roll has long since penetrated the Soviet Union. The original impetus came in the '60s with bootlegged records, cassettes and sources like the Voice of America, which beams in roughly an hour a day of rock and pop.

Soviet kids also adore rock because it is their rebellious answer to the kitschy pop tunes and folk songs the authorities want them to hear. Although they often have problems with the censors, some rock songwriters manage to have their say. Garbed in fire engine–red pants and white shirt decorated with a splashy 7-Up emblem, Graps sang: "Since we have nowhere else to make love/ we do it out in the open/ And sometimes the rain washes away the makeup/ from her face—and mine."

They loved it. They loved it all in Yerevan. On the last night of the festival, when the organizers slipped him the word to pack it up, Stas Namin said into the microphone: "Are you tired?"

Back came a roar: "*Nyet!*"

"It's 1 o'clock in the morning."

Huge cheer.

"What will your mothers say?"

Another cheer.

Namin went on to play *Sweet Little Sixteen*, made famous by Chuck Berry. The rocking did not stop until 2:30 in the morning. They could have rocked all night. ***—By George Russell. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Yerevan***

TIME: 11:54 a.m.
DATE: September 26, 1981
PLACE: Everett, Washington
EVENT: 767 Inaugural Flight

It was a beautiful flight. The first all-new passenger airplane in a decade. The first of a whole new generation of fuel-efficient jetliners. The first with an advanced-design wing of new aerodynamic proficiency. The first with a fully integrated 21st Century Flight Deck incorporating computers and instruments that gather, measure, and calculate flight data, enabling the crew to operate the airplane with maximum efficiency. A positive step forward in making sure airlines can continue to offer air fares as one of the world's best travel values. The Boeing 767, with more advanced sales than any other commercial airplane in history, is now a reality. Next year it will begin service, along with earlier firsts in the Boeing family—the 727, 737 and 747.

BOEING
Getting people together

Picking Between Mad and Bad

The Hinckley case steps up a debate over the insanity plea

Should John Hinckley spend the rest of his life in prison? Or was he so psychologically troubled when he shot President Reagan and three other men last March that society should not hold him accountable for his actions? That is the decision that will soon confront twelve jurors in Washington, D.C. If they accept the contention of Hinckley's lawyers that he was legally insane, the would-be assassin will be confined to a mental hospital until a judge concludes that he is no longer a threat to himself or fellow citizens. Then he may go scot free.

The insanity defense is rarely invoked and even more rarely successful. Among would-be assassins of Presidents, two have escaped a guilty verdict on the basis of it. One was Richard Lawrence, the house painter who fired at Andrew Jackson during a funeral service in the Capitol rotunda in 1835. The other was John Schrank, the saloonkeeper who shot Teddy Roosevelt in Milwaukee as the former President was en route to deliver a campaign speech in 1912.

Defendants have had little incentive to employ this defense, since the best hope it offered was usually a lifetime in a wretched mental hospital. In recent years, advances in drugs and psychotherapy, along with a trend toward returning mental patients to their communities, have reduced the average length of confinement. In New York State, the past 15 years have seen a sixfold increase in successful insanity pleas—from eight a year to 50. But the tendency to turn such patients loose has also led to a growing public perception that the streets are filling up with dangerous defendants who were found insane and then quickly released. In such a climate, legislators could soon begin to write the defense out of existence. To which many medical and legal scholars would say good riddance, since they increasingly doubt that there is any objective basis for distinguishing the truly mad from the genuinely bad.

The insanity defense rests on the fundamental notion that man has free will and can choose between good and evil. Conversely, if someone lacks free will because of a mental disorder, then he should not be punished for evil conduct. In colonial America, where more than 200 crimes were punishable by death, this defense often was the only way to spare someone from the gallows. Over the years, the standard became more cumbersome. The M'Naghten rule, devised by the English in 1843, declared that a defendant was not culpable if he "was labouring under such a defect of reason, from disease of the mind, as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing; or, if he did know it, that he did not know he was doing what was wrong."

KENNEDY GALLERIES

Eyewitness's sketch of attempted assassination of Andrew Jackson in 1835

A standard so confusing that even many experts cannot make sense of it.

Since 1962 most states, and the federal courts, have adopted variants of a model developed by the American Law Institute. Commonly referred to as the Brawner rule, it acquits a defendant who lacks "substantial capacity" either to know right from wrong or to conform to the law. This is the test that will be used in Hinckley's trial.

Critics of the plea believe that the standard is inconsistent and impossible to apply fairly. If mental defects are exculpatory, asks Dr. Abraham Halpern, director of psychiatry at United Hospital in Port Chester, N.Y., why shouldn't heredity, poverty and cultural deprivations also be? Others, like University of Chicago Law Professor Norval Morris, contend that jurors cannot make much sense of the tortured language in the M'Naghten and Brawner rules. "Even the so-called experts don't understand them," says Morris. Instead of acquitting defendants with mental problems, some scholars would prefer to have a judge convene a post-trial panel of medical experts to help him decide whether to order a prison sentence or psychiatric treatment.

Another alternative, tried in California but recently abolished by the legislature, is the doctrine of "diminished capacity." A defendant charged with first-degree murder, for example, could be convicted of a lesser offense like manslaughter, and thus receive a shorter prison term if he was unable to "maturely and meaningfully reflect upon the gravity of his contemplated act."

Still another experiment is the "guilty but mentally ill" verdict, which was put to use in Illinois last week in the case of Drama Student Paul DeWit, 22, who stabbed his acting coach to death with a pair of scissors. DeWit must be confined at least 20 years, the minimum sentence for murder. Initially, he will go to a mental hospital, and if cured before his sentence has expired, he will be transferred to a prison to serve the remaining years.

Confronted with the confusing technicalities of the insanity defense, juries tend to fall back on down-to-earth considerations. Explains Justice Department Lawyer William Hardy: "They accept the defense where the defendant is guilty but it seems unfair to send him to prison. This is a way for the jury to compromise." They are least likely to accept an insanity plea when the defendant is extremely violent or dangerous. Example: the trial of a Californian nicknamed "the Vampire Killer," who disemboweled several of his six murder victims, drank their blood and ate their flesh. He was sentenced to death but died presumably by his own hand, while on death row. In less dramatic cases, says Dr. Russell Monroe, chairman of the psychiatry department at the University of Maryland School of Medicine, jurors often ask themselves: "Would the defendant have committed the crime if a policeman had been standing right beside him?"

Despite such attitudes, observers believe that Hinckley Defense Attorney Vincent Fuller will parade his client's life and idiosyncracies before the jury in hopes of winning a shorter sentence, even if his insanity plea is rejected. Some feel, however, that Hinckley's wealthy background will count against him. Jurors, insists Washington Defense Attorney Lawrence Schwartz, will ask: "With all the opportunity, what right does he have to do this?" —*By Bennett H. Beach. Reported by Evan Thomas/Washington*

© 1981 R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.

Do you think you're smoking the lowest tar cigarette? Think again.

Why do you think your brand is lowest? Because its ads say so?

But other brands' ads are saying the same thing—that they're the lowest in tar.

Just where is a tar-conscious smoker supposed to turn?

Well, numbers don't lie. So we've put the tar levels of all these claiming-to-be-lowest brands into the chart below.

That way you can see just how much tar your brand has. And something else—there's one brand lower in tar than any of the other "lowest" tars.

Now is the lowest 100s Box. Now is the lowest 100s Soft Pack. And there's no cigarette in any size that's lower in tar than Now.

Do you want to know for sure that you're smoking the Ultra Lowest Tar™ brand?

Well, there's only one—Now.

Box Box 100s

NUMBERS DON'T LIE. NO CIGARETTE, IN ANY SIZE, IS LOWER IN TAR THAN NOW.

	80's box	85's soft pack	100's box	100's soft pack
NOW	Less than 0.01mg	1mg	Less than 0.01mg	2mg
CARLTON	Less than 0.01mg	1mg*	1mg	5mg
CAMBRIDGE	Less than 0.1mg	1mg	—	4mg
BARCLAY	1mg	1mg	—	3mg

All tar numbers are av. per cigarette by FTC method, except the one asterisked (*) which is av. per cigarette by FTC Report May '81.

NOW The Lowest

The lowest in tar of all brands.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

BOX, BOX 100's: Less than 0.01 mg. "tar", 0.001 mg. nicotine, SOFT PACK 85's FILTER, MENTHOL: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine, SOFT PACK 100's FILTER, MENTHOL: 2 mg. "tar", 0.2 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette by FTC method

NEW and available only by mail!

COUNTRY & WESTERN CLASSICS

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT COLLECTION EVER ASSEMBLE

First there's the legendary Hank Williams . . . Then Johnny Cash Kitty Wells, Roy Acuff, Tammy Wynette, Flatt and Scruggs, Bob Wills, Ernest Tubb, the Carter Family, Merle Haggard, . . . and many more!

All the best country classics!

Everybody's talking about country music! It's the authentic music of the American people. And the stories told in classic country songs—stories of good times and bad times, broken hearts and mended love—capture the true emotions of American life!

Hank Williams took the long, hard road from the two-room log house in Alabama to Nashville's Grand Ole Opry

Look at these 40 classics you'll hear on your first album: HANK WILLIAMS

No other album offers this outstanding selection!

• When God Comes and Gathers His Jewels • Move It on Over • I Saw the Light • Six More Miles (To the Graveyard) • Honky Tonkin' • My Sweet Love Ain't Around • Mansion on the Hill • I Heard My Mother Praying for Me • Lovesick Blues • Lost Highway • Mind Your Own Business • Wedding Bells • I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry • My Bucket's Got a Hole in It • Long Gone Lonesome Blues • Why Don't You Love Me • Why Should We Try Anymore • Beyond the Sunset • The Funeral • No, No, Joe • Cold, Cold Heart • I Can't Help It (If I'm Still in Love with You) • Howlin' at the Moon • Hey, Good Lookin' • The Pale Horse and His Rider (with Audrey) • Pictures from Life's Other Side • Lonesome Whistle • Half As Much • Baby, We're Really in Love • Honky Tonk Blues • Jambalaya (On the Bayou) • Settin' the Woods on Fire • I'll Never Get out of This World Alive • You Win Again • Be Careful of Stones That You Throw • Your Cheatin' Heart • Kaw-Liga • Take These Chains from My Heart • My Main Trial Is Yet to Come • The Log Train

All the greatest country stars!

COUNTRY & WESTERN CLASSICS from TIME-LIFE RECORDS bring you the most important people in country and western music—from yesterday and today! In **Johnny Cash** you get a 25-year salute to the Man in Black. With **Country Women** you get Patsy Cline, Tammy W Lynn Anderson and many more. The on your dancing shoes for **Bob Wills** King of Texas Swing. Hear the fanc picking of **Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs**. . . the country sound of **Acuff** and the beloved **Carter Fa**

A collection almost impos to find on your own!

When complete, the series bec a comprehensive history-in-sou country and western music: a co seur's collection of rare and soug after selections, complete in every Many songs have never been issue before on an LP!

Your favorite stars sing the so that live in your heart!

• **Tammy Wynette** Stand by Your Man • **Jo Cash** I Walk the Line • **Flatt and Scruggs** Fo Mountain Breakdown • **George Jones-Melb Montgomery** We Must Have Been Out of Our • **Lynn Anderson** Rose Garden • **The Carter Family** Can the Be Unbroken • **Johnny Cash** Folsom Prison Blues • **Barbar Mandrell** Midnight Oil • **Louvin Brothers** When I Stop Drea • **Patsy Cline** Walking After Midnight • **Hugh Cross-Riley** Red River Valley • **Delmore Brothers** Blues Stay Away fro • **Kitty Wells** It Wasn't God Who Made Honky-Tonk Angels **Wills** San Antonio Rose

Sound so great you'll think you're in the front row of the Opry!

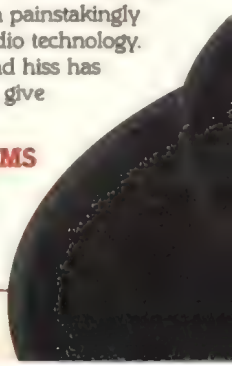
These old classics have been painstakingly restored through advanced audio technology. Virtually every crackle, pop and hiss has been masterfully eliminated to give you good, clean sound!

Get three superb LP records in every album ONLY $19.95! (about $6.65 each) plus shipping and handling

Audition HANK WILLIAMS FREE for 10 days!

Mail the attached order card today!

TIME LIFE RECORDS



© 1981 TIME-LIFE BOOKS INC

If card is missing, write TIME-LIFE RECORDS, COUNTRY & WESTERN CLASSICS, Time & Life Bldg., Chicago, IL 60611

SPECIAL BONUS WITH EACH ALBUM!

Inside your albums you'll get a **Collector's Booklet** featuring interviews with stars, photographs, selection notes—as many as 32 big pages. Everything you ever wanted to know about country and western music!

EACH ALBUM CONTAINS

- Three highest-quality, long-playing records—the best sound for your listening pleasure
- As many as 40 original recordings, often including rare and previously unreleased selections
- BONUS **Collector's Booklet**—page after page packed with biographies and listener notes
- Vintage recordings all masterfully reengineered to eliminate virtually every crackle, pop and hiss

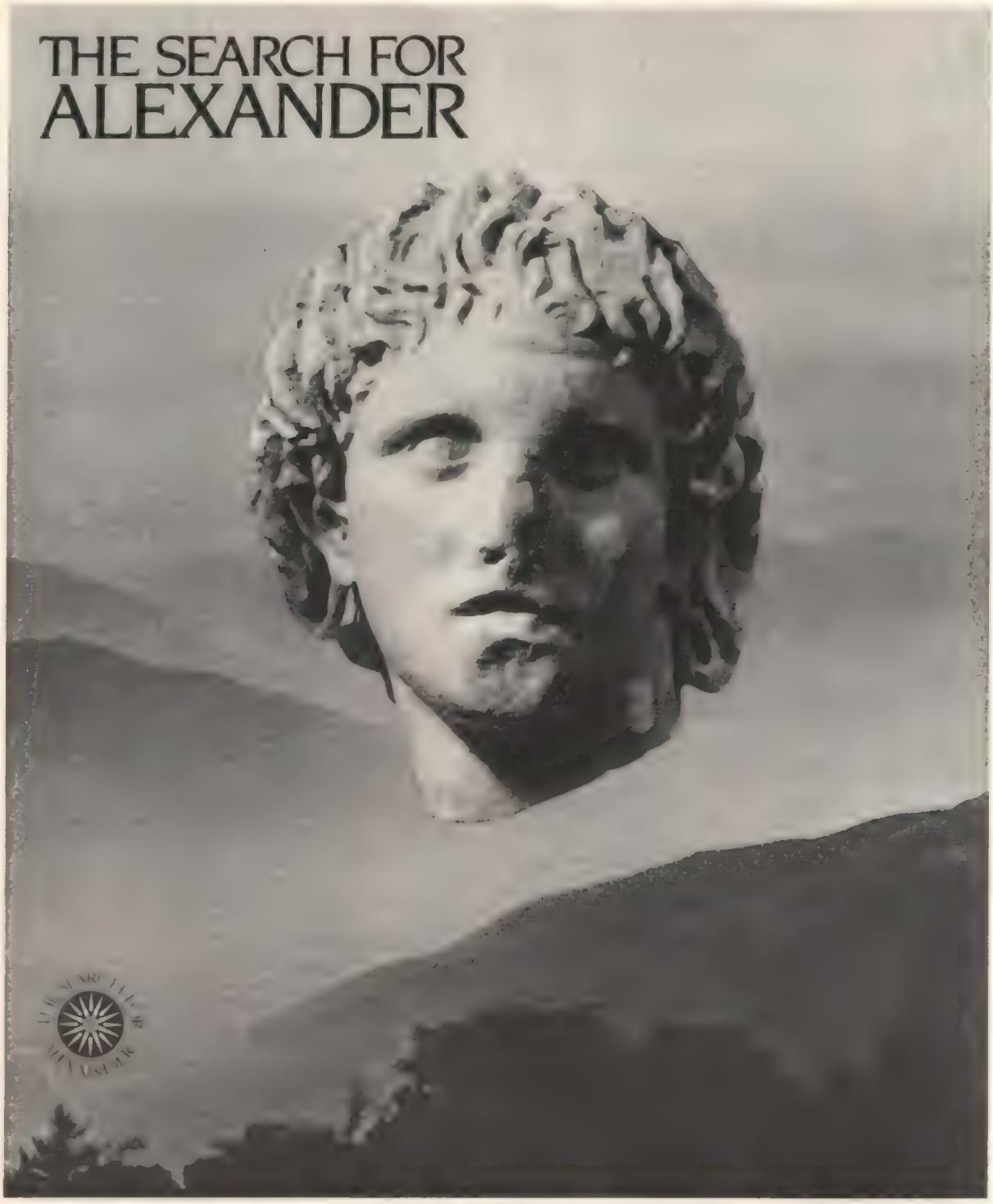
New from TIME-LIFE RECORDS.
Send for HANK WILLIAMS today!

TIME LIFE RECORDS

CANADIAN WHISKY · A BLEND · 80 PROOF · IMPORTED AND BOTTLED BY THE WINDSOR DISTILLERY COMPANY, NEW YORK, N.Y. ©1981 NATIONAL DISTILLERS PRODUCTS CO.

WINDSOR

ONE CANADIAN STANDS ALONE



AN EXHIBITION

THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS BOSTON
October 27 1981 until January 10 1982

The Exhibition has been made possible by The National Bank of Greece and Time Incorporated
and with the cooperation of The Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences

Copyright © 1981 The Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences

TIME
INCORPORATED

THIS BIG CRAFTSMAN SAW WAS BUILT TO WORK HARD. DON'T DISAPPOINT IT.

Save $100.* Now $259.99

including cable. Model Number 35772.

Take on some of the toughest cutting jobs you can find and trim 'em down to size. It's easy with this Craftsman High-Performance gas chain saw.

For solid value in a lightweight gas chain saw.

Craftsman 2.0 cu. in. chain saw with 14 in. bar. Solid state ignition. Automatic chain oiler. Friction-Fighter Lo-Kick Sprocket Nose Bar.

Save $25.* Now $159.99

including cable. Model Number 35733

For rugged dependability...

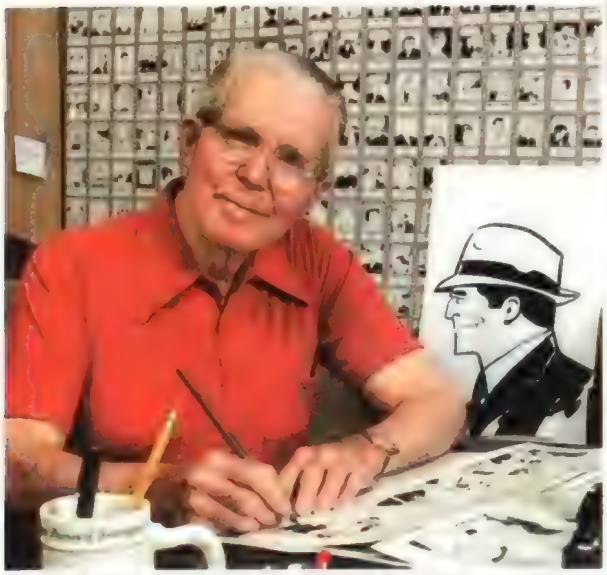
You can count on Sears

© Sears, Roebuck and Co. 1981

ON SALE OCT. 4-10

*Minimum savings nationally. Based on regular, separate prices.
Available at most Sears retail stores.
Prices and dates may vary in Alaska and Hawaii.

People



Creator Gould trying his hand at his old *Dick Tracy* drawing board

He took 27 bullet wounds during the first 24 years of his life, battling such miserable miscreants as Flattop, the Mole, Pruneface, Mumbles, the Brow, B-B Eyes and 88 Keyes (the larcenous pianist). But the villains never got the best of **Dick Tracy,** the hatchet-jawed, hawk-nosed dean of comic-strip detectives. Last week, Tracy, his snap-brim hat and two-way radio intact, celebrated his 50th year as a cartoon hawkshaw. So did his creator, **Chester Gould,** 80. Gould, now in affluent retirement in Woodstock, Ill., first dubbed his hero "Plainclothes Tracy." The moniker soon changed and later, so did Tracy. After an 18-year courtship, he finally wed his blond sweetie **Tess Trueheart,** and, says Gould: "I left Tracy a little more handsome than he was in 1931." In 1977 Chester passed on his pen to two young successors, **Rick Fletcher,** and **Allan Collins,** after "46 years, two months and 21 days on the job." But he is grumpy about the current strip. Says Gould: "I drew it as a law-and-order exercise from the start. But today Tracy has become part of a soap opera, and I don't care for it very much."

■

What do you get when you team up **Gene Wilder,** 43, (*Silver Streak, Stir Crazy*) with **Gilda Radner,** 35, (*Saturday Night Live*) in a murder-mystery romance? *Hanky Panky*, that's what. In the film, due out next summer, Wilder witnesses a murder. He and Radner then hit the road for clues to the crime, with Freelance Villain **Richard Widmark,** 66, in hot pursuit. Along for the chase are the police, who—you guessed it—think Wilder is the murderer. Love blossoms between the two co-stars during the film, but not, it seems, during a ride aboard a horse-drawn victoria in New York's Central Park. Says Wilder: "If you think that's a warm, romantic scene, you're wrong. It's just two people huddling together on a cold autumn day trying to keep from freezing."

■

"I did it myyyyyyyyyy waaaaaaaaayyyy." And so he did, back in the days when he acted as **Jimmy Carter's** wisecracking, shoot-from-the-lip chief inflation fighter. Back midst the ivied halls of Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., where he was once dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and is now a professor of economics, **Alfred Kahn,** 63, has polished up his act. A robust bass, he regularly turns up in local **Gilbert and Sullivan** productions, playing the modern Major General in *Pirates of Penzance*, Ko-ko in *The Mikado* and Jack Point in *Yeoman of the Guards*. Asked to aid a local fund raiser, Kahn happily swapped his tweedy academic threads for the lounge-lizard's black tie. "It was more a benefit for me," says he. "I'd give up my career to sing the role of Fredrik Egerman in *A Little Night Music*." So, decked out in a tux that probably cost less than one of **Wayne Newton's** cuff links, Kahn valiantly warbled eleven tunes, mostly **Gershwin** and **Cole Porter.** Just to prove that he hasn't abandoned politics, the songster topped his 40-minute performance with a *Night Music* number that he said he wanted to dedicate to the Reagan Administration. *Send in the Clowns.* —*By E. Graydon Carter*

Radner and Wilder taking a victoria tour in a scene from *Hanky Panky*

Kahn belting out his best

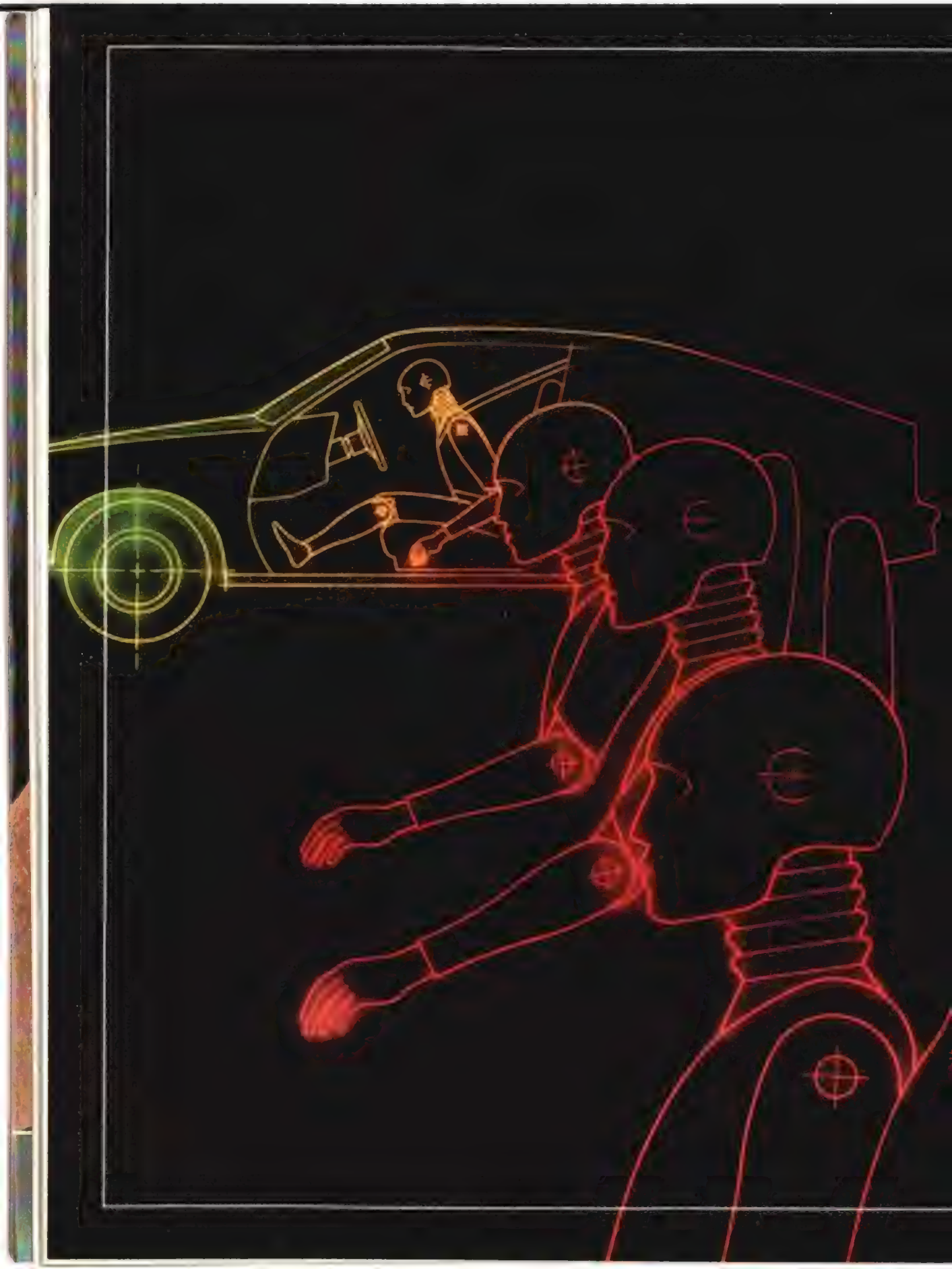
On the Record

Frank Sinatra, 65, on a benefit for the Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center that he will perform with **Luciano Pavarotti:** "All we have to do is forget ticket sales, match Luciano's weight in diamonds, and we're home free with an unbeatable figure. Fortunately, the figure is Luciano's."

Potter Stewart, retired Supreme Court Justice, on increasing the court's membership to lighten the work load: "I don't think that would solve the problem. Life on the court would have been a lot simpler for me if I had no colleagues at all."

Susan Ford, recalling the time her father **Jerry Ford** had mistakenly dispatched one of her report cards to his library at the University of Michigan: "Anything my dad finds, he has it notarized and sends it—things I'd rather forget."

Harry Reasoner, *60 Minutes* correspondent, on covering the White House: "What it is, really, is the world's most important police beat."



Crash testing is just the beginning.

Crash tests using dummies can help engineers to design safer cars and trucks. That's why we developed much of the technology that has become standard for barrier crash testing throughout the industry.

For example, the Hybrid II anthropomorphic dummy, developed by GM, was the prototype for the government's test dummy.

But we didn't stop there. Our commitment to safety led us into even more advanced research. Today, GM is pushing safety technology forward with new computer-modeling techniques. We've also developed static crusher tests as well as scale-model testing. And our biomedical research is helping us to understand better the human body's response to accident-induced trauma.

All this science and engineering can't take the place of driving carefully and using seat belts. Please do your part; buckle up whenever you drive. For our part, we've accepted a role of leadership in safety. Last year, we spent over half a billion dollars, not including equipment installed on vehicles, to carry out that role.

That's the GM idea of how to use technology to build cars and trucks. Attention to details where you don't see them, as well as where you do. Appearance and comfort may sometimes sell a car, but today's customers demand real value.

Our goal, as the world's largest automotive manufacturer, is to maintain our lead by using new technology to build cars and trucks that perform better and last longer, with lower maintenance costs, than those built by any competitor–American or foreign.

General Motors

The future of transportation is here.

GM

A Whiff of Panic

But Wall Street has the last laugh

The New York Stock Exchange last Monday

Pandemonium in London and, below, Tokyo

For a brief period last week it looked ominously as if the bottom were about to drop out of stock markets around the world. But looming doom proved a sucker's bet. In one of the dizziest roller-coaster rides of recent times, stock markets in Tokyo, London, New York and elsewhere slumped and surged and careered wildly down and up. Yet when the dust settled, share prices in most cases were pretty much back to where they were before the week began, and in New York, they were up substantially. The Dow Jones industrial average of 30 of Wall Street's leading blue-chip stocks ended the week at 860.73, a 37-point rise over the previous Friday closing.

For dazed investors and exhausted brokers, the market's gyrations were ultimately reassuring proof that the world economy is not teetering on the brink of collapse, as a minority of economic Cassandras have been insisting. The unwillingness of the markets to stampede into a state of panic was also a major failure for self-styled Investment Expert Joseph Granville of Holly Hill, Fla. The stock market hip shooter, whose forecasts have been wrong as often as right, has over the years gained a large and loyal following among investors who subscribe to his weekly market newsletter and hang on his words as if he were the Vicar of Value.

Joseph Granville

Seventeen months ago, Granville led the lemmings of Wall Street into a 30-point gain in a single day with an order to buy stocks. Then in January he set off a 23.80-point drop in one trading day with the command "sell everything." Even though stocks continued generally up for nearly five months after that before they started their current down phase, Granville insisted that he had the magic formula for Wall Street.

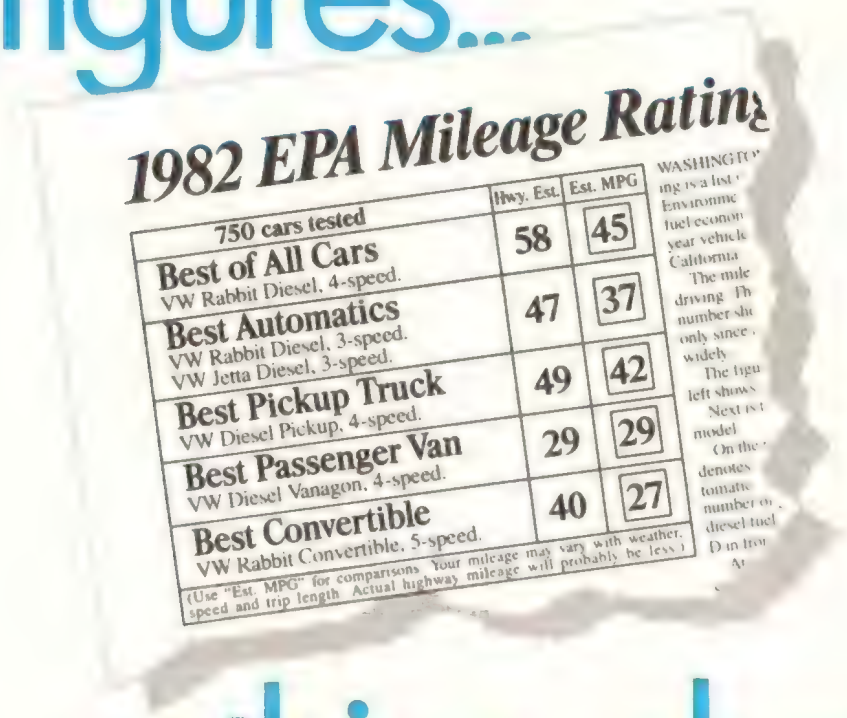
Two weeks ago, Granville, who believes that the world is in a bear market that "won't bottom until at least the middle of 1982," took his side show to international markets. And, with his usual dramatic flair, he decreed in advance that last Monday would be "Blue Monday," when stocks would drop sharply around the globe.

That was like screaming "fire!" in a burning building. Investors have been nervous for months, as they watched Wall Street's Dow Jones industrial average fall about 200 points from its peak of 1024.05 on April 27 this year. Moneymen have grown more and more skeptical of the Reagan Administration's supply-side economic policies and have begun fearing that they might lead to a synchronized global slump. Meanwhile, high interest rates in the U.S. have forced up the cost of money in other countries and raised even more concerns about future economic growth. Stocks in London, for example, have been depressed since early in September, when many of Britain's largest banks pushed up interest rates another two points to 14%. Said David Oldham of Wedd, Durkacher: "The market was on a downward path anyway due to high interest rates. The flamboyant statements made by Granville simply gave it a kick in the seat of the pants on the way down." Issues traded on the Paris stock exchange have moved uncertainly since before the May election of Socialist President François Mitterrand, who has a program calling for wholesale nationalization of French banks and industries.

Come Monday, and it began to seem as if Granville might be right. Stock markets opened to a selling avalanche. Tokyo, which because of the time-zone difference is seven hours ahead of Western Europe and 13 hours in front of New York, felt the onslaught first. By the close of trading, the Nikkei–Dow Jones average, which represents 225 stocks on the exchange, had crashed 300 points, 4.1%, the biggest such drop on record.

Panic began rippling through world money. In Hong Kong, the widely watched Hang Seng index plunged a staggering 7.8%. By the time brokers arrived for work in London, they were facing mountains of sell orders. No sooner did trading begin at 9:30 a.m. than the exchange's ticker, traditionally a paradigm of understatement, burst forth with news of "widespread and indiscriminate price-slashing." Said a broker as the sell orders piled up and the share prices plunged: "It's like a free fall without a parachute." By the end of the morning, the *Financial Times's* widely quoted 30-share index was down a record-breaking 29.4 points. It seemed madness, but, says Economic Historian Charles Kindleberger, author of *Manias, Panics, and Crashes:* "If the ship is really sinking, it is rational for the rat to leave."

The EPA figures...



1982 EPA Mileage Ratin

750 cars tested	Hwy. Est.	Est. MPG
Best of All Cars VW Rabbit Diesel, 4-speed.	58	45
Best Automatics VW Rabbit Diesel, 3-speed. VW Jetta Diesel, 3-speed.	47	37
Best Pickup Truck VW Diesel Pickup, 4-speed.	49	42
Best Passenger Van VW Diesel Vanagon, 4-speed.	29	29
Best Convertible VW Rabbit Convertible, 5-speed.	40	27

(Use "Est. MPG" for comparisons. Your mileage may vary with weather, speed and trip length. Actual highway mileage will probably be less.)

WASHINGTO
ing is a list
Environme
fuel econom
year vehicle
California.
The mile
driving. Th
number sh
only since
widely.
The figu
left shows
Next is t
model.
On the
denotes
tomatic
number o
diesel fuel
Data fro
A

nothing else is a Volkswagen.

© 1981 VOLKSWAGEN OF AMERICA, INC.

Art

et le bien. Quite properly, Alberto Giacometti's wiry bronze isolates are given a room to themselves, and it is the most august room in the show. Yet there are surprises—notably the suite of "hostages" by Jean Fautrier, human presences rendered down into a thick anonymous protein of paint, which were exhibited in Paris just after the Liberation (with a catalogue preface by André Malraux) and are still among the most striking images of pathos and mute, intractable survival that the war evoked from the West. The monochromes of Yves Klein, a curiously underrated compound of Duchampian dandy and body artist from the '50s, prefigure much that would happen on the conceptual fringes of the art scene in the '70s.

Such men stand out against a near wasteland of postwar French abstraction. Even the best talents involved in it, like Nicolas de Staël (1914-55), now look somewhat mannered and superficial; no wonder that the paintings of the New York School had such a traumatic impact on their aesthetic environment. Nothing could be tamer than the late-cubist scaffolding, the tidy compartmenting of the surface that provided the formal recipes of artists like Serge Poliakoff and Maurice Estève. Then there were the "religious" abstractionists, like Alfred Manessier, with their mock stained glass; and the gestural painters, like the appalling Georges Mathieu. By the mid-'50s, most of what Paris could offer a painter was concentrated in the museums: there was little enough life in the studios.

In their effort to convey the texture of life and literature in those 20 years, the curators have strained the exhibition format till it creaks. It is overloaded with documents that cannot be read because their pages cannot be turned: case after glass case of books, letters, *feuilletons*. This is literature-as-curiosity, a travesty of reading. Often the catalogue is much more rewarding than the rooms it annotates. Many of the photographs, by Robert Capa, Jacques-Henri Lartigue and Henri Cartier-Bresson, are of great documentary interest and poignancy—and they are not, for once, presented like precious little rectangles of market rarity. But the souvenirs: Beaubourg curators have a passion for them, and the show is so full of memorial objects from ration cards to a prototype Citroën 2CV that one expects, at any moment, to encounter a plastic shrine containing Albert Camus's cigarette butts or half of Pétain's mustache. The fact is that "Paris-Paris" was a good idea for a long documentary film. It might even have been the cultural equivalent of *The Sorrow and the Pity*. But as an exhibition it seems disjointed and patchy, because its contents will not surrender their meaning to the conditions of museum display. One may lament or applaud the fact that not everything can be assimilated by the museum; but it is still, apparently, a fact.

—By Robert Hughes

Candice Bergen and Jacqueline Bisset update an old catfight in *Rich and Famous*

Cinema

Star Turns on a Slippery Road

RICH AND FAMOUS *Directed by George Cukor*
Screenplay by Gerald Ayres

There are two movies going on here. In one of them, a sober and artistically respectable novelist named Liz Hamilton (Jacqueline Bisset) fights several decades of writer's block to emerge, finally, as an archetype of contemporary feminist dissatisfactions. In the other film, her best friend and worst rival, Merry Noel Blake (Candice Bergen), is a sort of magnolia-dipped Judith Krantz. She writes money-making trash and leads a life to match her art. She does not end up any happier than her pal, but she certainly has more fun.

It cannot be said that their stories believably mesh or that as a result, *Rich and Famous*—an adaptation of *Old Acquaintance*, the 1943 Bette Davis–Miriam Hopkins catfight—ever fully grips one's emotions. It is a shifty little devil, never quite deciding whether it is trying to say something serious about the nature of fame and riches (and, more important, love and sex in the feminist age) or if it is just out for a good time. Still, when it relaxes and allows its bitchy nature full play, it can be entertaining.

Credit for this must go largely to its stars. Under the permissive encouragement of 82-year-old George Cukor (*The Philadelphia Story, Little Women, Born Yesterday*), who has been urging female stars to be their best selves for half a century, Bisset is deliberately recessive, Bergen deliberately excessive, and neither has ever been better. The former is a subtle bundle of wariness and vulnerability, and if the screenwriter actually knew how real writers talk, this might have been one of the best portrayals of a working artist ever placed on-screen. There is also a scene in which for no special reason—excep open a closet door and let in a truly st odor of the misogyny that lightly sc much of the film—Liz succumbs hum ingly to a gigolo. It does not suit eith the picture's contrasting modes, should have been excised.

As for Bergen, her progress from ery housewife putting fantasies on p to multimedia celebrity, living out American fantasy of success, is gorgeo bold. Her bravura is entirely conscious, but this once bland beauty become one of the screen's most arre comedians. Somehow she manages to likable—maybe even lovable—no m how her character uses and abuses fri and relatives on her way to the top, w is defined here as a good old-fashi suite in the Waldorf Towers.

It is not entirely sexist to say that *and Famous*, based on a famous "wom picture," has not changed its thesis, l ever oddly it sometimes characterize leading ladies. What was implicit in old film, namely that men are no goo now painfully explicit. The husband gen sheds, once she begins her clim basically a nerd. The man Bisset fi decides might be all right—he is, in current fashion, younger than she is without a traditionally masculine b wave—dumps her for her friend's da ter. The conviction of its stars, howe carries one past this dreary consist just as it does the movie's more trou some inconsistencies. The trick to en ing the film is not to take anything abo seriously, except the talents of Bisset Bergen.

—By Richard Sch

The Spirit of America

Mystic Seaport by Alfred Eisenstaedt

America meant a new start. And the men who landed here started a world with new goals, new customs, even a new whiskey. Old Grand-Dad still makes Kentucky bourbon, the only truly American whiskey, just the same as we did in 1882. It's the spirit of America.

Old Grand-Dad

Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whiskey 86 Proof Old Grand-Dad Distillery Co Frankfort KY 40601

A NEW LEAN BR
1982 BONNEVILLE MODEL G
Hold on tight. This year a bold new Pontiac takes to the highway.
Model G Brougham. With a lean new stance. Efficient new size. And the driving excitement of a new optional 4-barrel V-6. Now in a car that puts six-passenger comfort in a new class.
Bonneville Model G doesn't just transport you. It takes you on a pleasure cruise. Allowing you to stretch out on rich, standard notchback seating as it glides fluidly over rough spots and isolates you from the clatter of everyday driving.
PONTIAC NOW THE

REED TAKES OVER

An available V-8 diesel offers a highway estimate of 34 and an EPA estimated mpg of 23*. Or you can stay with the standard V-6.

So get ready. One taste of this new lean breed and you'll never want to leave the open road.

*Use the estimated mpg for comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance, weather. Actual highway mileage lower. V-8 diesel requires air conditioning. Some Pontiacs are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details.

GM

E EXCITEMENT BEGINS

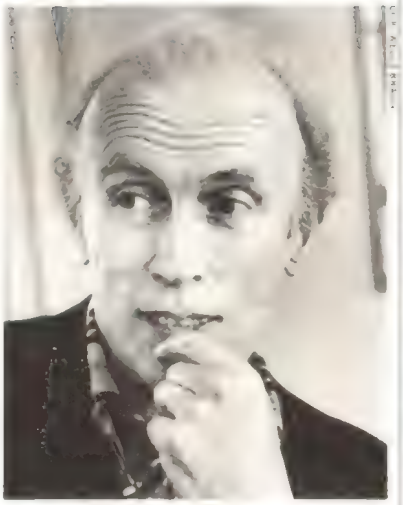
Wry Sigh

THE AVIATOR'S WIFE
Directed and Written by Eric Rohmer

The business of this intricately designed yet simply stated movie is to turn obsession into irony. This is always a useful enterprise. In life, it is the great antidote to insomnia; in movies, it is the alternative to melodrama and an excess of gunshots in the final reel.

In his heart François (Philippe Marlaud), the protagonist of Eric Rohmer's intelligently talkative movie, is every bit as bonkers over his lady as William Hurt is over Kathleen Turner in *Body Heat*. And Anne (Marie Rivière) is very possibly a greater pain to be with. Too self-absorbed even to fake passion, she does not seem to take even mildly sadistic pleasure in making François, among others, dance to her off-key tunes. It may be that she unconsciously seeks revenge because she has been jilted by her married lover, the aviator of the title, but that is not a connection she consciously makes.

François, however, makes all sorts of connections, most of them erroneous. When he spots the aviator leaving her apartment early one morning, he mistakenly assumes that it is after a night of revels and decides to follow him. Sure enough, his quarry picks up another woman, and François, hoping to prove to Anne that the flyer is two-timing her, becomes profoundly interested in his new role as amateur detective. Eventually he is proved wrong again, but luckily for him, his odd behavior attracts the interest of Lucie, an adolescent schoolgirl (Anne-Laure Meury), who is chipper, commonsensical and utterly charming—the larky heart of the film. For her, his obsession is a game, something to engage her imagination more sportively than the German grammar she's supposed to be studying that afternoon in the park.



***Aviator's Wife* Director Rohmer**
Turning obsession into irony.

Her behavior, at once coltish and wise, is an implicit commentary on his lugubrious single-mindedness. Lucie is a creature, as Rohmer sees her, of impulse and open air, while Anne is seen mostly in her cramped apartment, which can be seen as the logical extension of her cramped spirit. This, alas, is something François does not notice. The most the movie concedes him is the possibility that by sorting through his many wrong assumptions about the essentially innocent man he was following, he may have taken a small step toward extricating himself from his deluding passion. But like everything else in this sidelong glance of a movie, that point is, at most, implied. He has a long road to travel before he finds the freedom to respond to life as Rohmer does—with a wry sigh. The director of such wittily profound films as *My Night at Maud's*, *Claire's Knee* and *The Marquise of O . . .*, Rohmer has long since established himself as one of film's most assured miniaturists. This latest meditation on romantic absurdity is one of his most approachable and overtly comic works.

—*By Richard Schickel*

FOLONARI

"Folonari Soave. Clean, crisp...one of the best buys."
Terry Robards
Wine Critic, *THE NEW YORK TIMES* (9-24-80)

Dry, imported Folonari Soave is a totally delicious white wine. Its outstandingly clean, crisp, brilliant taste makes it a favorite — wherever and whenever it's served. More than a "best buy"— Folonari Soave is indeed a find.

Imported By 21 Brands Inc N Y N Y c 1981

Kings and Box, 1 mg. "tar", 0.2 mg. nicotine, 100's, 3 mg. "tar", 0.4 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

The pleasure is back.

BARCLAY

99% tar free.™

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

Ski the best. United's West.

This year, become a believer and ski the best—United's West.

The friendly skies can lead you down more sugary powder bowls and breath-taking roller-coaster runs because we fly to more Rocky Mountain gateways than any other airline, including Denver, Salt Lake City, Boise, Grand Junction, Reno, Portland and, Vancouver.

Live the Western life or dwell in European-style charm, United's West has it all! This year, United offers more money saving packages than ever before. Give a yodel to your Travel Agent—the real ski expert in vacation planning—and ask about our terrific "Midweek Ski Fare."

And be sure to pick up your free copy of the 1981 Ski Dreambook, 72 pages of ski bargains that'll make a believer out of you.

To get this beautifully illlustrated 22"x35" "Ski the West" map of the great ski resorts of the Rockies, just mail back this coupon and $2.00.

Enclose $2.00 per "Ski the West" map, and mail to:
SKI MAP, P.O. Box 27, Glenview, IL 60025

Name _____ No. of Maps _____

Address _____ State _____ Zip _____

City _____

SkiWest
UNITED AIRLINES

Fly the friendly skies of United.

Call your Travel Agent, the ski expert.

Quixote in the Kitchen

REINHART'S WOMEN *by Thomas Berger; Delacorte; 295 pages; $13.95*

In their latest outings, the three ongoing heroes of note in American fiction have succeeded in a variety of styles. Philip Roth's Nathan Zuckerman *(Zuckerman Unbound)* is famous; Updike's Harry Angstrom *(Rabbit Is Rich)* shuttles prosperously from Toyota dealership to marriage bed; and Thomas Berger's hefty and tenuous moralist, Carlo Reinhart, now 54, has risen above his customary blundering to become an Ohio Quixote tilting at Cuisinarts. Indeed, the redoubtable lummox actually triumphs over fate, women and his amazing girth.

In his eleventh novel—the fourth and best Reinhart volume—the author of *Neighbors* and *Little Big Man* propels the huge German American into an early and energetic Gray Pantherhood. This is not the Carlo Reinhart of *Crazy in Berlin* (1958), *Reinhart in Love* (1962) and *Vital Parts* (1970). He has been divorced from the vituperous Genevieve—his wife of 22 years—for a decade. His son Blaine, a mulish, asexual hippie ten years ago, is now a three-piece materialist; and blubbery, myopic Daughter Winona has been transformed into an anorectic fashion model. In the past, the world had always been a bit too speedy for Reinhart. He survived marital and fiscal disasters by waddling through the door to enlightenment before he was really ready. When last seen, Reinhart was scouring a disco called the Gastrointestinal System for his shady boss in an even darker, cryogenic body-freezing scheme. Now, as the slimmed-down chef on a local TV cooking show, his main concern is whether the sliced mushrooms will brown in their lemon-juice bath. At last he can afford to reflect: "The best defense against any moral outrage is patience; wait a moment and something will change: the outrage, he who committed it, or, most often, oneself." The new philosopher soon needs all the patience he can muster.

Reinhart is "housefather" in Winona's luxury apartment, sipping a vermouth cassis—he has forsaken his customary tumblers of bourbon—and garnering a local reputation for the classical cuisine. Hired by high-powered Grace Greenwood to demonstrate gourmet-food preparation in supermarkets, he is shocked to discover that the executive gorgon is Winona's lesbian lover. Blaine's wife has an erotic nervous breakdown in Reinhart's bedroom. Genevieve returns to stage a breakdown of her own. Helen Clayton, his supermarket assistant, bolsters Reinhart's flagging sexuality with motel trysts. A neighbor, Edie Mulhouse, as big as the hero himself, writes manic mash notes. Bewildered, Reinhart observes, "Women in general had grown assertive, had their own magazines displaying naked men and relating filthy fantasies, took out loans from banks, tried murderers, and performed brain surgery. For ever so long now it would have been simple bad taste to buy a broad a rum-and-Coke, kid her along for a moment or two, and then expect to pry her legs apart immediately thereafter in the back seat of a gas-guzzler."

THOMAS ROB

Thomas Berger in his perennial turtleneck

Reinhart's views and vulgarities do not make him any less appealing to the opposition. Even the poisonous Genevieve concedes, "Carl, if you had always been the mean son of a bitch you've turned into in your old age, I'd probably have stuck by you." Over a simple cheese omelet, Reinhart concludes autobiographically: "Food is really kinder than people." In the end, his moral palate has become as discriminating as his taste-buds: he lets others settle their own hash.

Fans will still find enough vestiges of the former Reinhart: his sententious liberalism is undiminished; his antique Midwestern vocabulary ("hen fruit," "on the fritz") is intact; and if his optimism is a bit white at the temples, it still goads him on. But Reinhart ultimately comes to believe that life's meaning can be boiled down to the profound couplet: "Nothin' says lovin' / Like something from the oven." The transformation has affected his creator as well. The tortuous and arcane language Berger displayed in *Neighbors* has been effectively streamlined. It now breaks for self-examination: "It was ridiculous that I lived almost half a century trying to measure up to the principles of other people . . . you change with age. One of the first things to go is the sense of sex as suspenseful . . . Then you get past thirty, and while time is of course as inexorable as ever, it is very difficult to measure in a credible way. You don't make higher marks on the doorjamb each birthday."

Never on the doorjamb, but sometimes in books. Like his running character, Berger has learned to cut down on adjectives and take it easy on the sauce. When Reinhart returns in his 70s, he may actually be underweight—in everything but entertainment value and insights.

—By J.D. Reed

■ ■ ■

The rented, white frame house in Sneden's Landing, N.Y., is the kind of place even Reinhart would admire. Amid the book- and sculpture-filled sunny rooms, Thomas Berger, 57, and his artist-wife of 30 years, Jeanne, browse through their sizable collection of cookbooks and photography volumes. The kitchen contains a

Excerpt

"'Look, old boy, I have a confession to make,' Reinhart said, clapping his son on the shoulder . . . 'I've got a job. You don't have to worry about me' . . . Foolishly, Reinhart was stung by the implication that he was lying. 'All right,' said he, 'you just ask Grace Greenwood. I start tomorrow. I'm going to demonstrate food products.'

'You're going to work for Winona's *girlfriend?*' Blaine asked incredulously. 'You're trading your daughter to an old dyke *for a job?*'

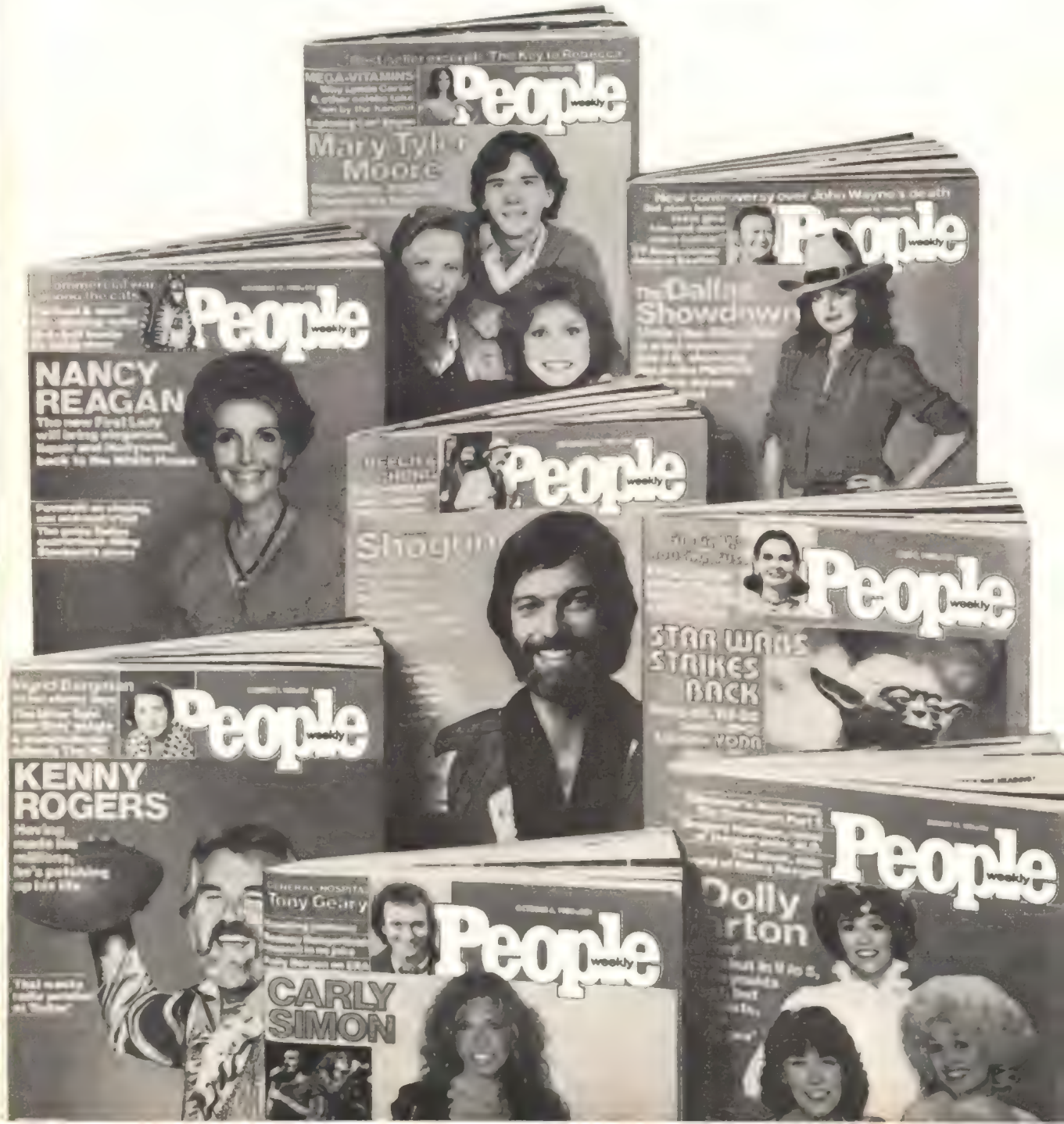
'Remember ten years or so ago, when you were always able to get a rise out of me?' Reinhart asked calmly. 'That was the era for that sort of thing, the baiting of the older by the younger. It was especially offensive because people of my generation had always believed they held nothing more sacred than the welfare of their children. To find that the children disagreed with this conviction was devastating. Now we have come to a time when a son can accuse his father of being a pimp for his homosexual daughter—and the father, shameless as he is, fails even to be insulted by the accusation.'"

Check out PEOPLE

(It's where everyone's happening)

Pick up a PEOPLE and open up to a week's worth of conversation. For PEOPLE's new every week —packed with pictures of people being themselves, filled with stories of who's doing and saying what to whom. It's information you can count on, insights you can appreciate. There's nothing quite like PEOPLE. This week. Any week. It's alive. It alerts you to everyone and everything, to what's new and who's news.

Treat yourself, treat your family, to PEOPLE this week.



THE SEARCH FOR ALEXANDER

AN EXHIBITION

"...the show is rich in art and artifacts, gold, silver, marble, iron, bronze and clay, from the fourth century B.C., when Alexander ruled Macedonia and made himself master of Greece, lord of Egypt, sovereign of the great Persian empire, and began the conquest of India."

Smithsonian, Washington, D.C

BOSTON
OCTOBER 27, 1981 – JANUARY 10, 1982

SAN FRANCISCO
FEBRUARY 20, 1982 – MAY 16, 1982

NEW ORLEANS
JUNE 27, 1982 – SEPTEMBER 19, 1982

NEW YORK
OCTOBER 27, 1982 – JANUARY 3, 1983

THE SEARCH FOR ALEXANDER

The Exhibition has been made possible by the National Bank of Greece and Time Incorporated, and with the cooperation of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences

TIME INCORPORATED

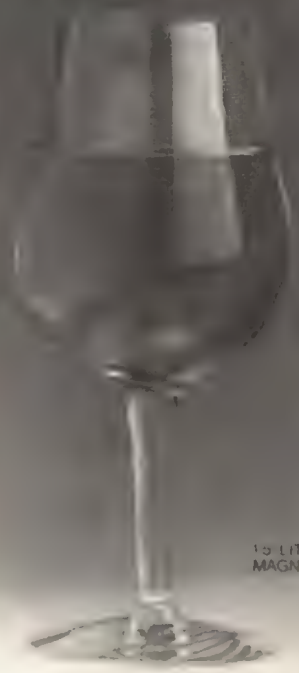
Copyright © 1981 by the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences

"Inspired by the Country Wines of Europe."

LIGHT COUNTRY WHITE pays tribute to the innovative wine-making tradition of AUGUST SEBASTIANI. To produce this low-alcohol wine, we select grapes with ideal sugar/acid balance. Because sugar, as well as alcohol, contains calories, we then ferment the wine to *dryness*. This exciting new wine is inspired by the Country Wines of Europe – the light, crisp flavors of Italian Soave and French Macons and the refreshing, low-alcohol wines of Germany. LIGHT COUNTRY WHITE is all of these things, yet it is also distinctly a California wine . . . very much a wine for Americans who want a lighter, drier taste.

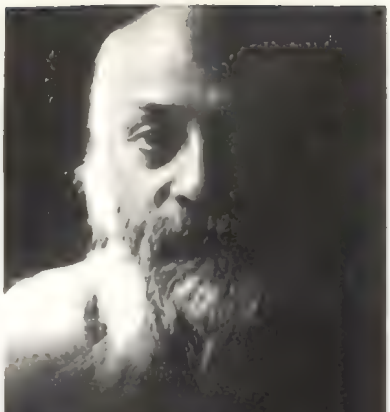
Lighter, Drier, Fewer Calories

Only 57 Calories In Each 100 ml



Light Country White

©1981 SEBASTIANI VINEYARDS — A FAMILY WINERY IN THE SONOMA VALLEY



anger

Never repress anger—
understand it.
Never repress greed—
understand it.
Repression
should not be a word
in the vocabulary
of a sannyasin (seeker).
Understanding
should be substituted
because
through understanding
one transcends.
The moment
you have understood
your anger
you are no more angry.
The energy
of the anger
is released
from its old pattern
through understanding—
and that same energy
becomes compassion.
The moment you
have understood
the noise of the mind
the same energy
becomes the music
of your inner being.

Bhagwan
Shree Rajneesh

Video • Tapes • Books • Photographs
For a free catalogue call or write:

Chidvilas
Rajneesh Meditation Center
P.O. Box 12A, Antelope, OR 97001
Dept. TF Phone: (503) 489-3301

batterie de cuisine that would flatter a *cordon bleu* chef. "I love to read about food and look at pictures of it," says the author. "I'm so into cooking we rarely go out to eat any more." It is an unsurprising revelation from a recluse who not only shuns TV appearances and parties but waited six years before agreeing to meet his publisher.

At 6 ft. 1 in., 190 lbs., Berger is an imposing presence. His shaved pate—a daily ritual for 16 years—gleams above a dark turtleneck sweater. "Since nature had made me half bald," he explains, "I thought I'd go it one better."

Since *Crazy in Berlin*, critics and scholars have been trying to make Carlo Reinhart into Berger's alter ego. Retorts the author: "The only thing my character and I share is my Army serial number and a few facts of early life." Like Reinhart, Berger is Ohio-born, his German-French-Irish father was a business manager of the Cincinnati school system. The 105-lb. sophomore played 15 seconds of varsity football for Lockland High when "we were leading about 40-0." And like Reinhart, Berger served in the Army Medical Corps during the Berlin occupation. The aspiring novelist left his Columbia University master's thesis on George Orwell unfinished to marry Jeanne Redpath. During the four years he labored on his Berlin book, Berger summarized the Korean War for the *New York Times Index*. As a result, "I remember less about that war than any other." In the early '60s, however, Berger used his library skills to stitch the rich Indian tapestry of *Little Big Man*. Movie options on his novels have supported life in Maine, Manhattan and Sneden's Landing.

"I'm now a lesser celebrity here, thank God," Berger says. "Al Pacino moved into town. So did Ellen Burstyn. An actress came to look at our rented house. I'm so out of it, I didn't know who Jessica Lange was."

Through Berger's work, Reinhart has remained a constant: "He's my friend and he talks to me. When I'm writing him, I can't wait to get to the typewriter and find out what he's going to do. I'm a lot smarter than he is, but on the other hand, he's a lot better than I am." Berger tried to write the fourth book back in 1974 when Reinhart was living in New York, but he never came alive. "He wasn't ready. This time, he gets a good woman at the end. I never know how these things will turn out, but a lot of women have pleaded to let him succeed. I guess he finally wanted to." Berger's recent life has also taken an upswing. *Reinhart's Women* has been optioned for the movies, Delacorte is issuing the three earlier Reinhart books in a boxed set, and Berger has broken his six-year hermitage to teach a fiction-writing course at Yale. But it is hardly a new era of openness. "When I went around currying literary favor, I was treated shabbily," he recalls. "Now, since I won't talk to anybody, they all want me." Reinhart would understand. ■

David Plante

Chilly Depths

THE COUNTRY
by David Plante
Atheneum; 159 pages; $9.95

Grief is often most eloquent when understated. Author David Plante's seventh novel is a textbook example of such successful reticence. Its narrator, Daniel Francoeur, is a writer living in London; he pays three visits to his aging parents in Providence, the last of them on the occasion of his father's funeral. Standing beside the coffin with his six brothers, Daniel finds himself weeping: "Then, with a little jolt, I felt that I was being dramatic, and my sobbing stopped."

Such self-control dominates *The Country*. Plante is a minimalist with language; his prose reduces events to small, discrete moments. He uses words less to evoke a scene than to catalogue it: "The sun was beaming through the pantry window into the kitchen; there was a block of yellow light on the wall above the table, set for supper with mismatched plates, glasses, a loaf of bread and a carton of milk. It was five-thirty."

This flat style may look easy, but what Plante accomplishes with it is not. Beneath the thin ice of Daniel's taciturnity, dark and chilly depths are clearly visible. When they get together, members of the Francoeur family step very gingerly. The phrases "How are you?" and "Are you all right?" become refrains: not just the words people normally say when they have not seen one another for some time, but utterances intended to forestall confessions of private turmoil and pain. Only the parents, in their increasing mental and physical deterioration, are exempt from this iron rule of politeness. During Daniel's first visit, his mother suddenly turns on her husband: "You wouldn't let me have the operation, though the doctor said I should, said I'd die if I had another baby. I had seven sons. You kept me in this house with the children, you still keep me in it, you've had your will." Later, the father bursts into tears and says, "I have

Something To Think About.

To compete. To risk. To choose your own way.
It's freedom, pure and simple.
That's the freedom we expect in America.
The freedom to choose the way we meet the opportunities of life.
But if someone decides government should protect us,
we may get protection, but we will lose some freedom.
Something to think about from the people at Getty.

Getty

Getty Oil Company • 3810 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90010

Instead of a career of getting ahead, consider giving a hand.

If you like to reach out to other people, you'll like our prize-winning free newsletter. WORD ONE reports what's happening in religion and social action for young people with career decisions still on their hands.

Write WORD ONE, No. 811, 221 W. Madison St., Chicago, IL 60606 or No. 811, 1119 Westchester Pl., Los Angeles, CA 90019. No charge, no obligation. We just want to get in touch.

The Claretians
A Roman Catholic community of priests and brothers

TIME
to renew your subscription?

You can check the expiration date of your subscription by consulting the upper left hand corner of your mailing label. If that date is fast approaching, the easiest, most convenient way to guarantee uninterrupted service and get our low basic rate is to fill out this coupon and send it with your mailing label to

TIME
Box 11015,
Chicago, Illinois
60611

☐ Please send TIME for 1 year at $36
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later
Mr./Ms.
(please print)
Address Apt. No
City State/Province Zip/Post Code

YOU CAN ALSO WRITE TO:
Order a change of address. Enter a new subscription. Order a gift subscription. Have your name removed from our mailing list.

Rate valid for U.S. only 151009

Books

done no good, none to your mother, none to you boys . . . I have done no good in the world."

Little is offered to ameliorate these spasms of despair. Daniel questions his father about the old man's grandparents, a French-Canadian fur trader and a Blackfoot Indian woman. But seeking his heritage only makes the son realize how much of it has been lost. Seeing unknown relatives at his father's wake, Daniel muses: "For me, they brought with them a crude air as of a settlement in the woods of people of strange blood, a settlement which was not really a success." Reconstructing a gathering his family had held some 20 years earlier, he recalls a tableau: his father depressed, his mother on the verge of hysteria. Even the Francoeurs' idea of Catholicism cannot comfort: "It was a religion, not of recourse, but stark truth: death is what we live for, and as terrible as it is, to die is better than to live."

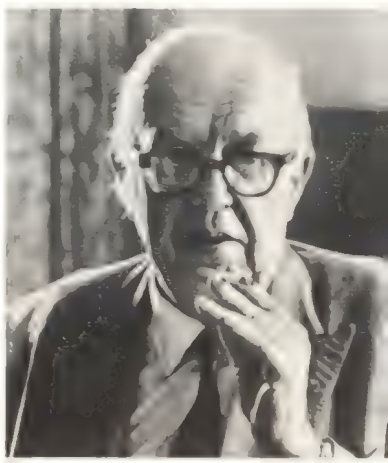
In spite of everything, the brothers love each other and their parents. They decide that their late father, a machinist, was "a great man" and take comfort from this belief. One says: "We're all separated, we brothers, and hardly know what one another is doing, and yet that doesn't matter, because we know one another in a bigger way, which keeps us together. Isn't that so?" Daniel answers, "Yes." And this stark, moving novel echoes that affirmative. —*By Paul Gray*

Relativities

THE PHYSICISTS
by C.P. Snow
Little, Brown; 192 pages; $15.95

When C.P. Snow was an eight-year-old in the drab Midlands city of Leicester, he read about the atom in a children's encyclopedia. An atom, the credulous lad was told, resembles the interior of a cathedral, in which tennis balls—the electrons—bounce about violently. This fanciful account gave the factory clerk's son "the first sharp mental excitement I ever had." He never quite got over it.

The plot that Snow the ex-physicist unfolds in this posthumously published work of nonfiction is better than any that Snow the novelist invented in his *romans à clef* like *The Search* and *The New Men*. There is something marvelously Dickensian, for instance, about Ernest Rutherford, whose booming voice upset such sensitive instruments as Niels Bohr, the Henry James of atomic physics, who whispered his way through labyrinths of elegant theory to explain what Rutherford demonstrated. Then, with Einstein ("the best company of all the great physicists") hovering above the scene, the rest of Snow's pantheon is introduced. In France there was Louis de Broglie, daring to propose that electrons or even whole atoms could behave like waves. In Germany there was Werner Heisenberg, who postulated that



C.P. Snow
Between two cultures.

the position of an electron could only be "statistically" predicted, never precisely ascertained. By his Uncertainty Principle, Heisenberg casually undermined the laws of causality on which classical physics was based, leaving Paul Dirac, back in England, to pull all these revolutionary theories together by accommodating them to the theory of relativity.

It is a story that has been told before, but never with a sharper feeling of epic excitement or a sadder sense of destiny. Where does Snow—a technical administrator during World War II, recruiting scientists in Britain—fit into the total picture he has sketched? He apparently presumed himself the model man of "two cultures." But in retrospect, he seems an outsider to both—the novelist who was a scientist to other novelists, the scientist who was a novelist to other scientists.

There was little doubt which peer group he valued more. To Snow, the nuclear physicists were, in fact, artists, opening the universe like a flower. Snow praises his inspired scientists for being "morally admirable" as well. After citing their "courage, truth-telling, kindness," he rather astonishingly asserts that "on the whole scientists make slightly better husbands and fathers than most of us." For Snow the agonizing irony is that these saintly men—Rutherford, "bored" by money; Bohr, "simply and genuinely kind"; Einstein, not only looking but behaving like an Old Testament prophet—should end up being even indirectly responsible for Hiroshima.

Still, Snow remains a man of "inextinguishable hope" awaiting the good luck that might produce a safe efficiency of fusion energy and redeem the fall from grace. But his faith in science as the automatic benefactor of mankind has clearly suffered a shock that trembles through these pages. The sad, sober words of the Australian physicist Mark Oliphant pull like an undertow: "We couldn't have done anything else, but we have killed a beautiful subject." —*By Melvin Maddocks*

Germany, now only $3.15

It's the new low rate. $3.15 for a 3-minute call to Germany. Just dial the call yourself during the lower rate periods...any night, 5p.m. to 5a.m.

If you don't have International Dialing in your area, you still get the same low rate as long as it's a simple Station phone call. (Person-to-person, credit card and collect calls, for example, cost more because they require special operator assistance.) Just tell the local Operator the country, city, and telephone number you want.

Here's how easy it is to dial Munich:

011 + 49 + 89 + LOCAL NUMBER

(If you are calling from a Touch-Tone* telephone, press the "#" button after dialing the entire number. This will speed your call along.)

$3.15! What a nice surprise! Or, as they say in Germany, "Ach Du lieber!"

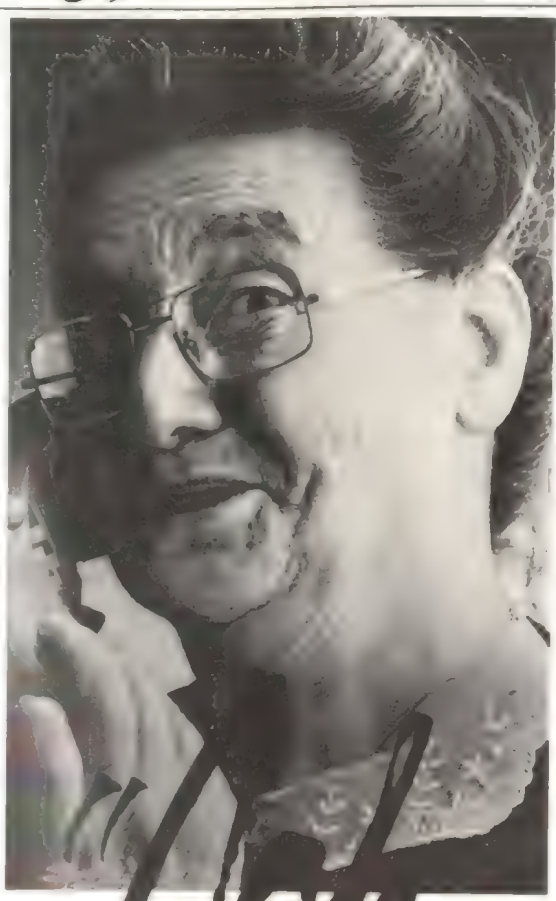
*Trademark of AT&T Co

Want to know more? Then call our International Information Service, toll free:

1-800-874-4000

In Florida, call 1-800-342-0400

Bell System



"Ach Du lieber!"

INITIAL 3-MINUTE DIAL RATES

FROM THE U.S. MAINLAND TO	DAY RATE	OWER RATE
Austria	$4.05	– A
Belgium	4.05	$3.15 B
Denmark	4.05	3.15 B
Finland	4.05	3.15 B
France	4.05	– A
Germany	4.05	3.15 C
Greece	4.05	– A
Ireland	3.00	2.40 B
Italy	4.05	3.15 B
Luxembourg	4.05	3.15 B
Monaco	4.05	– A
Netherlands	4.05	3.15 B
Norway	4.05	3.15 B
Portugal	4.05	3.15 B
San Marino	4.05	3.15 B
Spain	4.05	3.15 B
Sweden	4.05	3.15 B
Switzerland	4.05	– A
United Kingdom	3.00	2.40 B
Vatican City	4.05	3.15 B

A) No lower rate period
B) Nights 5pm-5am & Sunday
C) Nights 5pm-5am only

The charge for each additional minute is 1/3 the initial 3-min. dial rate. Federal excise tax of 2% is added on all calls billed in the United States.

ROBERT DE NIRO · ROBERT DUVALL

True Confessions

Two brothers
trapped by a murder...
One hid behind his vows.
The other behind
his badge.

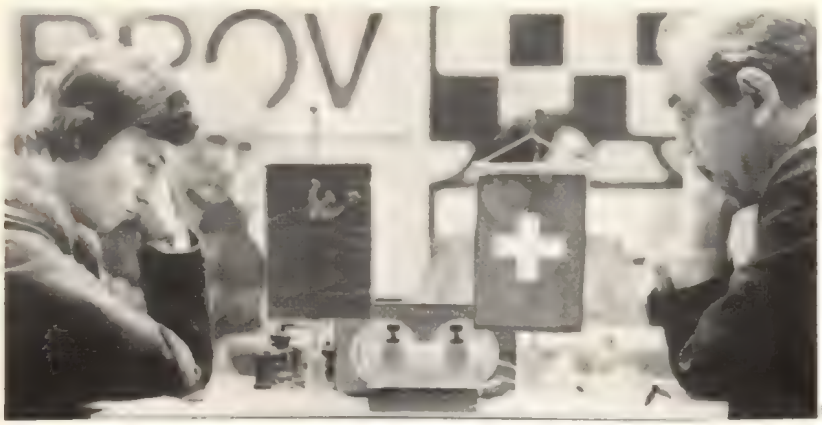
A ROBERT CHARTOFF-IRWIN WINKLER PRODUCTION
ROBERT DE NIRO · ROBERT DUVALL
"TRUE CONFESSIONS" • Co-Starring BURGESS MEREDITH • CHARLES DURNING • ED FLANDERS • CYRIL CUSACK and KENNETH McMILLAN
Screenplay by JOHN GREGORY DUNNE and JOAN DIDION • Based on the novel by JOHN GREGORY DUNNE • Music by GEORGES DELERUE
Director of Photography OWEN ROIZMAN A.S.C. • Produced by IRWIN WINKLER and ROBERT CHARTOFF
Directed by ULU GROSBARD • Read the novel from Pocket Books

R RESTRICTED UNDER 17 REQUIRES ACCOMPANYING PARENT OR ADULT GUARDIAN

United Artists

Copyright © MCMLXXXI United Artists Corporation All Rights Reserved

STARTS FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9th
AT THEATRES EVERYWHERE.



Champion Anatoli Karpov ponders a move by Challenger Victor Korchnoi

Sport

Duel in the Dolomites

Karpov and Korchnoi, no friends, meet again for the chess crown

"Chess," as Mystery Writer Raymond Chandler once observed, "is as elaborate a waste of human intelligence as you could find anywhere outside an advertising agency." Chandler should have spent last week in Merano, the village in northern Italy's Dolomite mountains where the 30th World Chess Championship opened. Defending Champion Anatoli Karpov, 30, ordered that a plywood slab be installed underneath the chess table in the town auditorium. How's that? Well, said Karpov, Challenger Victor Korchnoi, 50, might kick him in the shins.

Karpov beat Korchnoi six games to five in their 93-day 1978 marathon, but not before they exchanged charges about the use of "evil eyes," illegal signals with yogurt cartons, and microphones hidden in chairs. This second championship Karpov-Korchnoi meeting—"K-2" to insiders—is well on the way to becoming as byzantine and acrimonious as the first. The stakes this time: $260,000 and world bragging rights for the winner, $160,000 and humiliation for the loser.

Korchnoi, a burly, voluble Russian defector, arrived from a Swiss health retreat accompanied by an entourage Muhammad Ali would envy. Spokesman Emanuel Sztein sported a Solidarity button and passed out postcards demanding that Korchnoi's son Igor, 22, be released from a two-year prison sentence for draft evasion and that Korchnoi's wife Bella be allowed to join him. Korchnoi's party also included an American yoga instructor, who sat in the first row at the opening game last week wearing an orange sari.

Karpov, a slightly built, coldly articulate Soviet, checked into the Riz Stefanie hotel along with 18 assistants, 4,000 volumes on chess and boundless disgust for the challenger. "Korchnoi must have the right atmosphere to play well," sniffed Karpov. He took the world championship by default in 1975 when the reigning champion, American Bobby Fischer, refused to defend his title. Since then Karpov has played more tournaments than any other modern champion, in an apparent effort to legitimize his easy accession to the crown.

Korchnoi is described even by friends as paranoid. He refuses to drive in his adopted Switzerland because, he says, the KGB would arrange an accident. Since his defection, the Soviets have attempted to boycott every tournament he has entered, except the world championships. Korchnoi's complaint: "Karpov is a little boy. I know of no other player with such poor end-game technique."

Technically, a Karpov-Korchnoi game is the equivalent of a Dallas Cowboys–Oakland Raiders Super Bowl. Karpov is his sport's Tom Landry, precise and by the book. Korchnoi plays with creative abandon, moving "out of book" into unexplored permutations. A book play proved crucial in the match's opening contest. Korchnoi made questionable exchanges at moves 10 and 12, allowing Karpov to execute a center-board attack on the 24th move. Korchnoi resigned a hopeless position after the 43rd turn.

Experts favor Karpov over the long haul. The fact that the champion is 20 years younger than the challenger could be decisive. Observes Argentine Grand Master Miguel Najdorf: "If you're an old man, you can't play chess like a young man." In any case, Korchnoi is not planning to leave soon. The warm fall rains are just beginning in Merano, but Korchnoi brought with him three pairs of skis. ■

Milestones

SEEKING DIVORCE. Gary Hart, 43, Democratic Senator from Colorado; and **Lee Ludwig Hart,** 43, a real estate agent; after 23 years of marriage, two children. The couple separated for six months, then reunited last year during Hart's successful campaign for a second term.

DIED. Rómulo Betancourt, 73, baseball-loving, pipe-smoking former President of Venezuela, who was revered as the father of democracy in his country and a hero throughout Latin America for his opposition to oppression; of a stroke; in New York City. The son of poor Spanish immigrants, Betancourt was a law student of 20 when he led the first of the antigovernment rebellions that would cause him to be imprisoned or exiled intermittently over much of his life. Having launched his *Acción Democrática* party in 1941, he joined a successful military coup four years later and, at 37, was appointed President. After three years of sweeping reforms—including establishment of the fifty-fifty formula that gave the government half of foreign oil companies' profits—he was toppled and forced again into exile. Returning to win an election victory in 1958, he promoted land reform and educational improvements during his second term. He peacefully relinquished power in 1964 and took up an influential role as elder statesman. Unlike many Latin American politicians, Betancourt left office faithful to his pledge that "the only wealth I have is my honor."

DIED. Robert Montgomery, 77, urbane film star of the 1930s and '40s (*Night Must Fall, Here Comes Mr. Jordan, They Were Expendable*), who went on to become a stage and screen director, a pioneering television producer and, during Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency, the first White House TV adviser; of cancer; in New York City. Flippant comedy roles on Broadway propelled him to Hollywood, where he became president of the Screen Actors Guild in 1935. In 1950 he launched *Robert Montgomery Presents*, one of TV's first major dramatic series, and kept it going for seven seasons.

DIED. Harry Golden, 79, humorist-*cum*-moralist who used the pages of his one-man newspaper, the *Carolina Israelite*, to celebrate the vagaries of life and attack racial discrimination, collecting his writings in the bestsellers *Only in America* (1958), *For 2¢ Plain* (1959) and *Enjoy, Enjoy!* (1960); of a heart attack; in Charlotte, N.C. A Jewish immigrant's son who was reared on Manhattan's Lower East Side, the portly, cigar-chomping Golden gravitated to the South and in 1941 founded the *Israelite*, which in its 26 years of publication numbered Harry Truman, Earl Warren, Adlai Stevenson and Carl Sandburg among its readers. A typical satirical proposal: the Golden Vertical Negro Plan to install stand-up desks in public schools because Southerners seemed averse only to sitting, not standing, next to blacks.

New Frontier for Feminism

Friedan says the family needs attention

The feminist on the phone wants to know if Betty Friedan will join a march against pornography. Friedan snaps no, she will be out of town, and slaps down the phone in exasperation. For Friedan—the Founding Mother, first president of the National Organization for Women, discoverer of "the problem that has no name"—the hounding of sleazy pornographers is not high on the feminist agenda. "I don't think it's a primary issue at this point," she says mildly.

Friedan, 60, is impatient about the current preoccupation with porn and rape because it reflects "an obsession with the victim state, and an obsession with the symptoms of pathological aspects of relations between the sexes instead of basic causes." Worse, she thinks it perpetuates male-female confrontation, which once may have been a necessary stage in the women's movement, but today seems tiresome and pointless. Now, she says in her new book *The Second Stage* (Summit Books; $14.95), it is time for women and men to put the pieces back together again. The feminist frontier in the '80s, she thinks, is the family, an idea guaranteed to irk much of the movement.

The explosion of rage against the family that marked the birth of feminism was understandable, she says, and Author Friedan herself was part of it, charging that housewives were trapped in a "comfortable concentration camp." The "false pedestal" of the dependent wife had to be shattered. But now, she thinks, some women have replaced the "feminine mystique" with an equally limiting "feminist mystique," freezing themselves in reaction against men and family life.

In her landmark 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique*, Friedan said the "problem that has no name" was the reason that housewives, awash in creature comforts and the beaming smiles of husbands and children, felt so unfulfilled. The feminist movement and Friedan answered: A woman is not an appurtenance and marriage is not a career. "Now I hear a similar Geiger counter clicking again," says Friedan. "Today the problem that has no name is how to juggle work, love, home and children." Feminists who disparage the family, she says, are woefully out of step with most women.

Friedan and book

Friedan has noted feelings of pain and puzzlement among younger liberated women who set off bravely, launched a career and then discovered that often, people are not fulfilled by jobs alone. "Virtually all women today," she writes, "share a basic core of commitment to the family and to their own equality within and beyond it, as long as the family and equality are not seen to be in conflict." The signs, she says, "are the pregnant bellies as women come up against the biological clock in their late 30s. The choice to have children is a major choice for women not easily denied." Friedan admits that women's traditional second-class status has historically been linked to the biological state of motherhood, but the opposition to motherhood today "is a hangover from the generations when too great a price was paid

Friedan has no use for "sexual politics," all the writing about men and women as if they were permanently warring tribes. Books suggesting that all men everywhere are implicated in every rape (Susan Brownmiller *Against Our Will*) and that perhaps men should give up intercourse altogether (Shere Hite's *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality*) are still considered in the feminist mainstream. Sexual relations, in fact, have been held up to such witheri feminist scrutiny, complai Author Barbara Grizzuti Harrison, that "it is no longer possible to say in print that you have experienced vaginal orgasms (which might imply dependence on men) without at least people telling you that you made it all up." Sexual politics, according to Friedan, "an acting out of rage that didn't rea change anything." She writes: "There is danger today in feminist rhetoric, rigidified in reaction against the past, harping on the same old problems in the same old way, leaving unsaid what's really bothering women and men . . ."

Friedan argues that the first wave feminism petered out in the 1920s par because its leaders never addressed the question of the family. It can happen again, she believes, if feminists do not work for day care, flextime for working mothers and fathers in business and professions, and changes generally necessary to make the two-career family work.

As a simple political expedient, she thinks, feminism will not be able to increase its power in the '80s if it ignores the growing constituency of two-career families. Besides, she sees the interests of men and women beginning to converge: women moving out into the labor market, men no longer identifying themselves solely in terms of their jobs and seeking more fulfillment in the home.

Friedan still remains committed to what she calls "the unfinished battle" ERA, abortion and economic equality. But her new work has already stirred considerable ire in the movement. Feminist Author Ellen Willis has accused Friedan of trimming her feminism to suit the conservatism of the day. "Betty Friedan," she writes, "would destroy feminism in order to save and beat the Moral Majority by joining it." But Author-Poet Erica Jong *(Fear of Flying)*, in the October issue of *Saturday Review*, calls the book "courageous" and adds: "I have always agreed with Friedan that many feminists were beating their heads against a wall by trying to deny the importance to most women of nurturing, childbearing and warm familial relationships. Denying women's needs will get us nowhere—but deeper into the trouble we are now in."

—By John L

DRAWING BY KOREN, © 1981 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.

"That's my mom and dad. They've just returned to traditional family values."

Only Tareyton has the best filter!

For the taste you want in an ultra low tar!

Why the best? Because Tareyton's unique charcoal filter means taste that's smooth. It means flavor that's distinctive. It means that no other cigarette is quite like Tareyton.

Ultra Low Tar 5 mg. tar 0.4 mg. nic.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

5 mg. "tar", 0.4 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

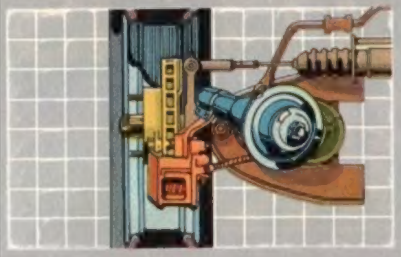
FORD MUSTANG

From Simmer to Sizzle.

Whether you choose the simmer of Mustang L or the sizzle of Mustang GT, you can be sure of one thing: excitement is not far behind.*

Engineered to hold tight to the turn.

Mustang, designed to move



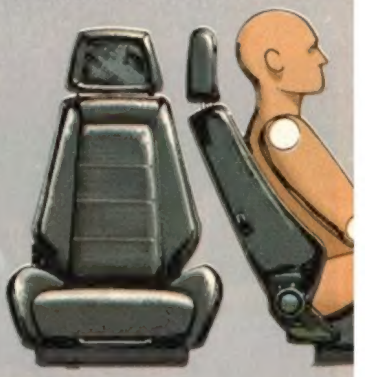
with precision, has rack and pinion steering, a modified MacPherson strut suspension up front, a 4-bar link rear suspension with coil springs and steel-belted radials, just in case you should find one of those twisting, winding roads that demands some real driver participation.

Your kind of sizzle.

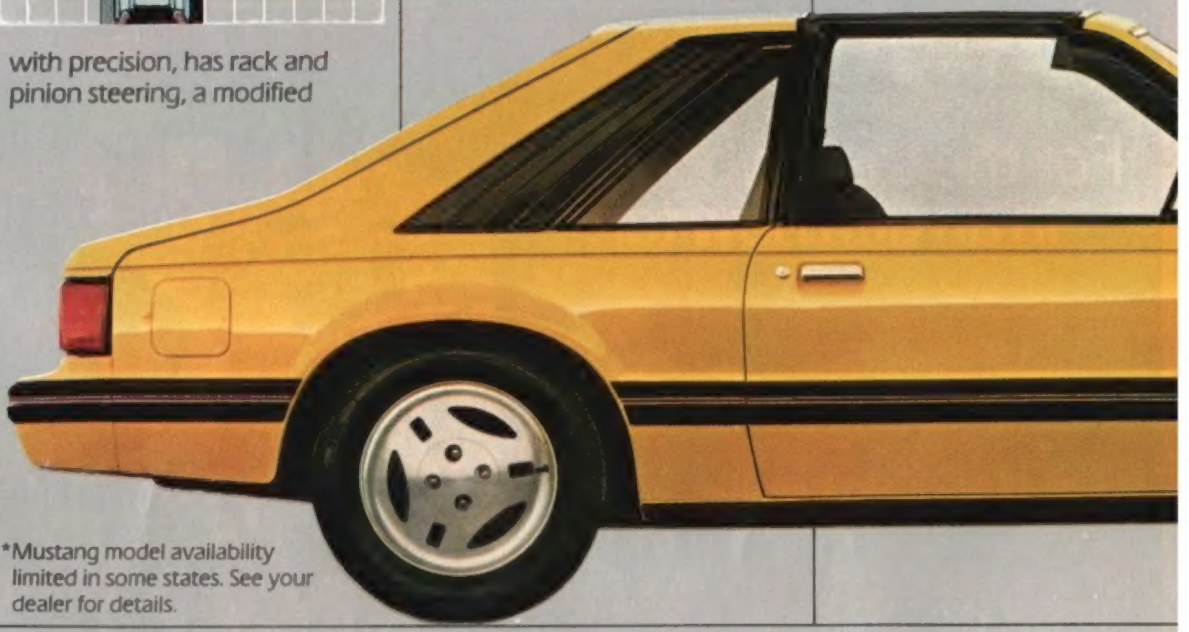
Inside Mustang's slick aerodynamic shape lives a finely engineered power plant. Choose from the standard 2.3 liter 4-cylinder up to the optional 5.0 liter High-Output engine.

The Recaro option.

Recaro seats are designed for ultimate comfort.



These specially contoured sea provide excellent shoulder,



*Mustang model availability limited in some states. See your dealer for details.

LOOK OUT HERE COMES

side and thigh support, and additional lower back support. So we've got you covered for comfort.

We've got you covered for good mileage.

Mustang is aerodynamically designed to move eely through the streets while ne standard 2.3 liter engine squeezing every drop of fun ut of a gallon of gas.

33 EST HWY **22** EPA EST MPG

For comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on peed, distance and weather. ctual highway mileage lower.

New sporty Mustang GT

Options. Whatever you choose, you're going to be right.

Inside Mustang you'll find impressive comfort and convenience. Maybe you'll go for the leather-wrapped steering wheel surrounded by an easy-to-read instrument cluster. Or maybe you'll turn up the heat with an AM/FM stereo

radio with cassette tape, coupled with Ford's Premium Sound System, then choose air conditioning to cool things down. But whatever you choose, you're going to be right.

And sometimes, we've even got you uncovered.

The optional T-Roof makes Mustang an excellent place to watch the world watch you back. Whether you buy or lease, see Mustang at your Ford Dealer now.

FORD MUSTANG

FORD DIVISION Ford

WORLD
FORD

Ford

©1981 • 6 Years Old. Imported in Bottle from Canada by Hiram Walker Importers Inc., De

"The Best In The House" fo

Hiram Walker's unique, light-tasting whisky earned its reputation as the finest whisky in exclusive clubs from the time it first appeared. That's how it became "Club Whisky."

In 1891, a new U.S. law required the country of origin to appear prominently on a product's label. Hiram Walker proudly added "*Canadian*" to Club Whisky and people just as proudly began ordering "*Canadian* Club."

Tod
ways: on
Manhatt
lighter th
it's still "

"Ca